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CONTENTS

ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN — PIERRE GIBAULT	<i>Joseph J. Thompson</i>	3
THE CURIOUS LEGEND OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN KENTUCKY	<i>Young E. Allison</i>	29
THE EXPULSION OF THE FRANCISCANS FROM PRUSSIA AND THEIR COMING TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE SUMMER OF 1875	<i>Eugene Hagedorn, O. F. M.</i>	66
THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS AT JOLIET, ILLINOIS	<i>A Christian Brother</i>	82
AN HISTORIC COURT DECISION - - - - -		85
EDITORIAL COMMENT - - - - -		90
ADVANCE IMPRESSION OF THE TENNESSEE EVOLUTION CASE	<i>Herbert C. Noonan, S. J.</i>	92
NEW GUARDIAN ANGEL ORPANAGE FOR ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO	<i>Joliet Evening Herald</i>	92

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JULY, 1925

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ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN, PIERRE GIBAUT

(Continued from former issues)

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION CONCERNING FATHER GIBAUT

The uncertainties relative to the ecclesiastical situation dragged on, and influenced the lives of many, as well as the progress of the Church, not only in the Illinois country, but throughout all the possessions of the then United States.

Father Gibault returned to Cahokia, however, and the properties within the village having reverted back in a sense to the congregation, and the residents being entirely satisfied with Father Gibault's return to minister amongst them, he seems to have considered that the time was ripe for him to settle down and make some provision for his old age and inevitable decline.

Discourteous and overbearing though the newcomers in the old French localities were, the officers having to do with the administration of government had some sense of justice, and felt that the French residents ought to be protected. Accordingly, when Virginia ceded all its claims to the Western territory to the United States, it included in the deed of cession a saving clause guaranteeing to the ancient French, as they were called, their possessions. This saving clause was incorporated in the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River, and Congress, when it assembled, enacted laws in conformity thereto. Generally speaking, as the law finally stood, the head of each family was entitled to a claim of 400 acres, and each militiaman was entitled to a claim of 100 acres, to be allotted by the governor of the territory.

As has been noted, Father Gibault was neither the head of a family nor a militiaman, and consequently received nothing under

the saving clause. Everybody who spoke of this contemporaneously felt that an injustice was perpetrated upon the good priest, and no doubt he was urged to resort to Congress for help in the premises. At any rate he did petition Congress as follows:

“No. 24

Kahokia, May 1, 1790.

“The undersigned, memorialist has the honor to represent to your excellency, that, from the moment of the conquest of Illinois by Colonel George Rogers Clark, he has not been backward in venturing his life on the many occasions in which he found that his presence was useful, and sometimes necessary, and at all times sacrificing his property, which he gave for the support of the troops, at the same price that he could have received in Spanish dollars, and for which, however, he has received only paper dollars, of which he has had no information since he sent them addressed to the Commissioner of Congress, who required a statement of the depreciation of them at the Belle Riviere in 1783, with an express promise; in reply, that particular attention should be paid to his account because it was known to be no way exaggerated.

In reality, he parted with his tithes and his beasts, only to set an example to his parishioners, who began to perceive that it was intended to pillage them, and abandon them afterwards, which really took place. The want of seven thousand eight hundred livres, of which the nonpayment of the American notes has deprived him the use, has obliged him to sell two good slaves, who would now be the support of his old age, and for the want of whom he now finds himself dependent on the public, who though well served, are very rarely led to keep their promises, except that part, who, employing his time in their service, are supplanted by the secular power, that is to say, by the civil government.

The love of his country and of liberty, have also led the memorialist to reject all the advantages offered to him by the Spanish government, and he endeavored by every means in his power; by exertions and exhortations, and by letters to the principal inhabitants to retain every person under the dominion of the United States, in expectation of better times, and giving them to understand that, our lives and property being employed twelve years in the aggrandizement and preservation of the conquests of the United States, would at last receive an acknowledgement, and be compensated by the enlightened and upright ministers who, sooner or later, would come to examine into, and relieve us from, our sad situation. We begin to see the accomplishment of these hopes under the happy government of your excellency, and as your memorialist has reason to believe, from proofs which would be too long to explain here, one of the number who has been the most forward in risking his life and fortune for his country. He also hopes that his demand will be listened to favorably. It is this: The Missionaries, like lords, have at all times possessed two

tracts of land near this village, one three acres in front, which produces but little hay, three quarters being useless by a great morass, the other of two acres in front, which may be cultivated and which the memorialist will have cultivated with care, and proposes to have a dwelling erected on it, with a garden and orchard, in case his claim is accepted. Your excellency may think, perhaps that this might injure some of the inhabitants; but it will not. It would be difficult to hire them to cause an enclosure to be made of the size of these tracts, so much land have they more than they can cultivate. May it please your excellency, then to grant them to the memorialist as belonging to the domain of the United States, and to give him a concession to be enjoyed in full propriety in his private name and not as to a missionary and priest, to pass to his successor, otherwise the memorialist, not wishing to labor for others, would not accept it. It is for the services he has already rendered, and those he still hopes to render, as far as circumstances may offer, and he may be capable, and particularly on the bounty with which you relieve those who stand in need of assistance, that he founds his demand. In hopes of being soon of the number of those who praise Heaven for your fortunate arrival in this country, and who desire your prosperity in everything, your memorialist has the honor of being, with the most profound respect,

Your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

A. GIBAULT, Priest.

To His Excellency, Arthur St. Clair, Major General of the Army of the United States, Governor of the territory possessed by the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, etc., etc."

Here then is the story of Father Gibault's connection with the conquest of the Illinois country, his labors and sacrifices, most modestly told, and, finally, his request for a reward, which, it will be agreed, was most insignificant by comparison with the benefits conferred by him.

In the meantime the governor appointed by Congress, General Arthur St. Clair, visits the territory, makes himself thoroughly acquainted with all the conditions, and transmits his report to the Secretary of State, who was no less a personage than the renowned Thomas Jefferson, and who in turn delivers the report, with notes and recommendations, to the President of the United States, George Washington. In due course President Washington sends the report, together with the notes and recommendations of the Secretary of State and a letter of transmittal, to Congress.

Because these documents clear up and round out so many of the facts necessarily involved in the life of Father Gibault the entire correspondence is here reproduced:

First Congress

3rd Session

No. 7

Land Claimants in the Northwestern Territory Communicated
to Congress, February 18, 1791.

United States, February 18, 1791.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the

House of Representatives:—

I have received from the Secretary of State a report on the proceedings of the governor of the Northwestern territory, Kaskaskia, Kahokia and Prairie, under the resolution of Congress of August 29th, 1788, which, containing matter proper for your consideration, I lay the same before you.

G. WASHINGTON.

The Secretary of State, having received from Arthur St. Clair, Esquire, Governor of the Northwestern territory, a report of his proceedings for carrying into effect the resolve of Congress of August 29th, 1788, respecting the lands of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, la Prairie du Rocher and Kahokia, which report was enclosed to him in a letter bearing date the 10th instant, and observing therein several passages proper to be laid before the Legislature, has extracted the same, and thereupon makes to the President of the United States the following report:

In that which he made on the 14th of December, 1790, relative to the execution of the same resolution of Congress at Post Vincennes, he brought under certain general heads of description the claims to lands at that place, which had been provided for by the said resolution of Congress. To keep the subject simplified, as well as short, he will observe that the cases at Kaskaskia described in the extract, marked A, belong to the fourth class of the said report for St. Vincennes; that those at Kaskaskia, of the extract B, belong to the fifth class of the report for St. Vincennes, and that those of Kahokia, in the extract C, belong to the sixth class of the same report, and may be comprehended in the provisions to be made for them.

The extracts marked D, E, F, G and H describe other cases out of the provisions of the resolution, which have arisen at Kaskaskia and Kahokia, differing from each other, as well as from all the former classes.

The extracts marked I, K, state that the line which, by the resolve of Congress of June 20th, 1788, had been so described as to place the lands to be allotted to the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and Kahokia in a fertile and convenient situation, and had been so shifted, by the resolu-

tion of August 29th, 1788, as to throw those allotments into parts too distant and dangerous to be cultivated by them, and pray that the line of June 20th, may be re-established.

The extract L brings into view the purchase of Flint and Parker, in the Illinois country, which may need attention in the formation of a land law.

The extracts M, N, O, with the papers they refer to, contain the reasoning urged by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Prairie and Kahokia, against the demand of the expenses of certain surveys made of their lands, neither their desire nor for any use of theirs.

P explains certain demands for the revoked emissions of continental money remaining in the office of a notary public of Kaskaskia, and Q the expediency of having a printing press established at Marietta.

Which several matters the Secretary of State is of opinion should be laid before the Legislature for their consideration.

February 17, 1791.

TH. JEFFERSON.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO

A. Among the claims for land that have been rejected, there are several that are founded on purchases made from individual Indians, and the conveyances set forth that they were inherited from their parents, were not the property of the nation. It could not, however, be discovered that any division of the lands of the Kaskaskia Indians had ever taken place among themselves, and the chief of that nation has applied to be confirmed a tract of land of about five or six thousand acres, where their village was situated not long ago, which would take in the parcels that have been sold and applied for as above. On this claim, no decision has been made. It appeared to be a subject that ought to be referred to Congress; but I may be allowed to observe, if one Indian sale is approved it is probable that a great many will be brought forward.

B. A gentleman of the name of Todd had been appointed by the Governor of Virginia, Lieutenant of the county of Illinois, and some few grants of land are said to have been made by him, although by his instructions, which he put upon record at Kaskaskia, he had no authority to that purpose, but seemed rather to have been restrained. A copy of those instructions were transmitted by the Secretary. On Mr. Todd's leaving that part of the country, a person of the name of De Numbrun was substituted, who made grants of land without number. The power of granting lands was also assumed by the civil courts that had been established, and that assumed power they used very liberally, still pretending, however, that they had been authorized so to do by Mr. Todd, who is styled Grand Judge of the United States. It is said probably that such power was never delegated to the courts by Mr. Todd; at least it does not appear. All those grants have been rejected, but I beg leave to suggest,

that it might be proper to allow a right of pre-emption to those who have actually settled and made improvements under them. Some of the parties seem respectively to have had two different objects in view—the applicants, and the engrossing lands for a very small consideration, and the grantors, the accumulation of prerequisites, the courts and sub-lieutenants having exacted \$4.00 for each grant. There are a number of American settlers in possession of such grants, whose claims have been equally rejected; their case seems to be a hard one. Not doubting the authority of the courts, which they saw every day exercised, they applied for lands, and obtained them, and made settlements, in consequence, distinct from those of the French; but having removed into that country after the year 1783, they do not come within the resolution of Congress which describes who are to be considered as ancient settlers, and confirmed in their possessions. As Americans they have been peculiar objects of Indian depredation, while their neighbors, the French, from having had more intercourse with the Indians, and frequently inter-marrying with them, until very lately, were generally safe; they have, in consequence, been driven off of the lands they had improved, and have lost both their time and their labor. No. 7 is a representation from them upon this subject.

C. No. 14 is a representation of the inhabitants of Kahokia respecting their common. What they set forth is true, both with respect to their having been long in the occupation of it, and the quality of what they ask for upon the hills.

D. At Kaskaskia the Jesuits held valuable possessions; the buildings are gone entirely to ruin, but the lands are still of some value. On the suppression of the order in France, the officers of the French King disposed of their property at that place, by public sale, but before the sale took place the country had been ceded to Great Britain—a circumstance that was not known there. The British officer who took possession of that crown considered the sale illegal, and laid hold of the property; and the purchaser, a Mr. Beauvais, and his descendants, have been kept out ever since. A son of Mr. Beauvais now lays claim to it in virtue of the purchase, and throws himself upon the United States to be confirmed in what yet remains of the property for which his father paid a very large sum of money.

E. The same steps were taken to obtain a knowledge of the lands that were claimed by the people at Kahokia as at Kaskaskia, and after due examination, orders of survey for such as fell within the resolution of Congress were put into the hands of Mr. Girardin, the only person that could be found in all that country who understood anything of surveying. There are a great many persons in that quarter, also, whose claims have been rejected, who, nevertheless, may be properly considered as having an equitable right, at least, to the pre-emption.

F. No. 24 is the request of a Mr. Gibault for a small piece of land, that has been in the occupation of the priests at Kahokia for a long time, having been assigned to them by the French; but he wishes to possess it in propriety; and it is true that he was very useful to General Clarke upon many occasions, and has suffered very considerable losses. I believe no injury would be done to any one by his request being granted, but it was not for me to give away the lands of the United States.

G. No. 9 is a plat of the reserved tract, including Fort Chartres. It is,

however, to be observed, that part of this tract appears to have been granted before the country was in possession of the French.

H. Great numbers of people have abandoned the Illinois country, and gone over to the Spanish territory. A claim, however, is still kept up by them to their ancient possessions, but it is to be remarked, that very few grants were made by the French in fee simple. When any person quitted their possessions, the soil seems to have reverted, of course, to the domain of the King, and was regranted at the pleasure of the officials commanding. It is presumed that, strictly, the possessions of all those who have so expatriated themselves are fallen to the United States, had they even been granted originally in fee simple, and may be disposed of as they see fit; but the loss of the people is severely felt. May I be permitted to suggest that a law declaring those possessions escheated, unless the former owners return and occupy them within a certain time, would not be an improper measure?

I. Mr. Samuel Baird was appointed to survey the lands held by the people of Kaskaskia, and to run the lines that had been directed by Congress to embrace the donations. On examination of the claims, however, it was found that many grants of land had been made which would fall to the eastward of the line to be drawn from the mouth of the river au Marie, and as all grants that proceeded either from the government of France, that of Great Britain, or of the State of Virginia, on or before the year 1783, were to be confirmed, the running of that line was delayed until Congress should be informed that it would not take in all the claims, and therefore appeared to be incurring an unnecessary expense.

K. The donations to the ancient settlers have not been laid out, because, at Kaskaskia and the Prairie du Rocher, no person could be found to do it. At Kahokia no authority was given to Mr. Girardin for that purpose, but nothing, I presume, has been done in consequence of it: for the alteration that was made in the location of these donations by the act of the 29th of August, from the West to the East side of the Hills or Ridge of rocks, throws them at such a distance from their present possessions (the hills being of a considerable breadth and not very fit for cultivation) that, in the existing circumstances of the country, they could not possibly occupy them. They humbly pray that the location pointed out by the act of the 20th of June, 1788, may be restored.

L. A contract subsists between Flint and Parker and the late Board of Treasury for a great tract of land in the Illinois country. No part of the contract has, I believe, been complied with on their parts, and probably never will; but if it is attended to before a law passes for erecting an office for the sale of the lands, it may create embarrassment hereafter.

M. Orders of survey were issued for all the claims at Kaskaskia that appeared to be founded agreeably to the resolution of Congress, and surveys were made of the greater part of them. A part only of those surveys, however, have been returned, because the people objected to paying the surveyor, and it is too true that they are ill able to pay. The Illinois country, and as well that upon the Ouabash, has been involved in great distress ever since it fell under the American dominion. With great cheerfulness the people furnished the troops under General Clarke, and the Illinois regiment, with everything they could spare, and often with much more than they could spare, with any convenience

to themselves; most of the certificates for those supplies are still in their hands, unliquidated and unpaid; and in many instances, where application for payment has been made to the State of Virginia, under whose authority the certificates were granted, it has been refused. The Illinois regiment being disbanded, a set of men, pretending the authority of Virginia, embodied themselves, and a scene of general depredation and plunder ensued. To this succeeded three successive and extraordinary inundations from the Mississippi, which either swept away their crops or prevented their being planted. The loss of the greatest part of their trade with the Indians, which was a great resource, came upon them at this juncture, as well as the hostile incursion of some of the tribes which had ever before been in friendship with them; and to these was added the loss of their whole last crop of corn by an untimely frost. Extreme misery could not fail to be the consequence of such accumulated misfortunes. The paper No. 5 contains the orders for a compensation to the surveyor, and No. 6 is the representation of the people praying to be excused from paying it.

N. Having finished the business at Kaskaskia as far as it was possible at that time, on the 5th day of April I embarked, and proceeded up the Mississippi to Kahokia, having stopped at Fort de Chartres, and visited the village of the Prairie du Rocher, which is about a league from there, by land, on the way. Mr. Baird had been directed to make the surveys there as well as at Kaskaskia, the same objections to paying for them were raised there as at the latter place. No. 8 is a power of the inhabitants to make representations to me on the subject, which was done.

O. No returns of survey from Kahokia are as yet come to hand, and it is probable that not many have been made, as the same objections to paying for them were raised as elsewhere, and the inhabitants of that place are joined in the remonstrances which have been made by those of the other villages.

P. When the two emissions of paper money were called in by Congress, a considerable sum of those emissions were lodged in the office of a notary public at Kaskaskia, by the direction of the county of Illinois there it yet remains, and the owners have received no satisfaction for it of any kind. They complain of this, and it would seem not without reason.

Q. Before I close this report it may be necessary to mention the necessity there is for a printing press in the western territory. The laws adopted, or made by the Legislature, are declared to be binding upon the people until they are disapproved by Congress. There is no way of giving them any publicity but by having them read at the courts, and but few people become thereby acquainted with them: magistrates who are to carry them into execution are strangers to them, for the Secretary does not conceive it to be his duty to furnish them with copies. Indeed the business of his office increases so fast, that it would be impossible to do it; besides, they are in English, and the greatest part of the inhabitants do not understand a word of it; the translation of them, therefore, seems to be necessary, and that a sufficient number of them should be printed in both languages; and that can only be done in the territory where the original rolls are deposited. Every public act and execution of what kind soever, I was myself obliged to translate into French, and having no person to assist me, it made the business extremely troublesome and laborious.

Congress having considered all these papers, supplemented by other information, passed a bill, which became a law, covering virtually all of the questions raised in the report, and reading as follows:

An Act granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country, in the territory northwest of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their possessions.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That four hundred acres of land be given to each of those persons, who in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, were heads of families at Vincennes or in the Illinois country, on the Mississippi, and who since that time have removed from one of the said places to the other. And the Governor of the territory northwest of the Ohio is hereby directed, to cause the same to be laid out for them, at their own expense, either at Vincennes or in the Illinois country, as they shall severally elect.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted and declared*, That the heads of families at Vincennes or in the Illinois country in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, who afterwards removed without the limits of the said territory, are notwithstanding, entitled to the donation of four hundred acres of land made by the resolve of Congress of the twenty-ninth of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight; and the governor of the said territory, upon application to him for that purpose, is hereby directed to cause the same to be laid out for such heads of families or their heirs; and shall also cause to be laid off and confirmed to such persons the several tracts of land which they may have possessed, and which before the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three may have been allotted to them according to the laws and usages of the government under which they had respectively settled; *Provided nevertheless*, That if such persons or their heirs do not return and occupy the said lands within five years, such lands shall be considered as forfeited to the United States.

Section 3. *And be it further enacted*, That one hundred and fifty acres of land, heretofore in possession of the Piankeshaw Indians, and now under actual improvement, and constituting a part of the village of Vincennes, be given to the persons who are severally in possession of the said land.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted*, That where lands have been actually improved and cultivated at Vincennes, or in the Illinois country, under a supposed grant of the same, by any commandant or court claiming authority to make such grant, the governor of the said territory be, and he hereby is empowered to confirm to the persons who made such improvements, their heirs or assigns, the lands supposed to have been granted as aforesaid, or such parts thereof as he, in his discretion, may judge reasonable, not exceeding to any one person, four hundred acres.

Section 5. *And be it further enacted*, That a tract of land, containing about five thousand four hundred acres, which for many years has been fenced and used by the inhabitants of Vincennes as a common, also a tract of land including the villages of Cohos and Prairie du Pont, and heretofore used by the inhabitants of the said villages as a common, be, and the same are hereby

appropriated to the use of the inhabitants of Vincennes and of the said villages respectively, to be used by them as a common, and otherwise disposed of by law.

Section 6. *And be it further enacted.* That the governor of the said territory be authorized to make a grant of land not exceeding one hundred acres, to each person who hath not obtained any donation of land from the United States, and who, on the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, was enrolled in the militia at Vincennes or in the Illinois country, and has done militia duty, the said land to be laid out at the expense of the grantees, and in such form and place as the governor shall direct. *Provided nevertheless,* That no claim founded upon purchase or otherwise, shall be admitted within a tract of land heretofore occupied by the Kaskaskia nation of Indians, and including their village, which is hereby appropriated to the use of the said Indians.

Section 7. *And be it further enacted,* That two lots of land heretofore in the occupation of the priests at Cahokia, and situated near that village, be, and the same is hereby granted in fee to P. Gibault; and that a tract of land at Kaskaskia, formerly occupied by the Jesuits, be laid off and confirmed to St. Jam Beouvais, who claims the same in virtue of a purchase thereof.

Section 8. *And be it further enacted,* That so much of the act of Congress of twenty-eighth of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, as refers to the locations of certain tracts of land directed to be run out and reserved for donations, to the ancient settlers in the Illinois country, be, and the same is hereby repealed, and the governor of the said territory is directed to lay out the same, agreeably to the act of Congress of the twentieth of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

Approved, March 3rd, 1791.

(United States Statutes at Large, v. 1, pp. 221-222).

PREFECT APOSTOLIC JOHN CARROLL INTERPOSES

According to its lights, therefore, Congress expressed the gratitude of the country to Father Gibault for his valuable assistance in its hour of need. The pecuniary value of the congressional gift may be judged from a representation made by the inhabitants of Cahokia to the Seminary of Quebec, under date of June 6, 1787. It will be remembered that the property of the Holy Family Church at Cahokia had been alienated by the last pastor, and the title was thrown into a dispute which lasted over a period of years, but eventually the village property was returned to the Church through the activities of Rev. Paul de St. Pierre. The marguilliers or trustees in giving a description of the property speak of the parcels involved in the act of Congress as follows:

“Since the three arpents of land will become a charge against the mission on account of the expense for fences and maintenance, we consulted with Monsieur St. Pierre (the pastor) and decided to rent it, and after three announcements there has been bid only the

very moderate sum of 16 to 18 livres per annum for each arpent, which is not enough to cover the cost of maintenance."

It has accordingly been quite properly referred to as a property of no value, and of uncertain title, and it was undoubtedly the belief of all those interested in the matter that Congress had full power of disposition, not only of this little parcel, but also of the more extensive property of the Jesuits at Kaskaskia.

Father Gibault was not, however, to receive the congressional bounty without objection. The prefect apostolic in his magnificent career established a reputation for a great solicitude for the inviolability of the property rights of the Church. All through the Atlantic states where church properties had been secured by grant or otherwise he found it necessary to fight to retain them, and was consequently, perhaps, on his guard continuously. At any rate he became aware of the grant by Congress to Father Gibault, and seems to have moved immediately in the matter. This and other incidents and events set in motion a correspondence between Prefect Apostolic Carroll, the Bishop of Quebec and Father Gibault, which is both interesting and enlightening, and is consequently reproduced in full:

"Monseigneur:

The necessity, in which I find myself, of asking your Lordship for light on a rather delicate matter affords me at the same time an opportunity to assure you of the esteem I entertain for your character and episcopal virtues.

Encouraged by the favorable recommendations with which M. Huet de la Valiniere was supplied by his ecclesiastical superiors in Canada, I very willingly accepted his offer to go to Illinois and I have named him my vicar general there. Since he left, I have received letters written at Post Vincennes by another priest named Gibault, who tells me that for nineteen years he himself has been in that section vicar general of the bishops of Quebec. It is about this, Monseigneur, that I should like to be instructed, and upon which I dare to ask your Lordship to throw some light; especially since reports have reached me concerning M. Gibault's conduct that are very unfavorable to him.

I learned, some time ago, that your Lordship was dissatisfied with me because I meddled in the ecclesiastical government of the Illinois. I did so because I believed it was included in my jurisdiction and I had no idea that your Lordship extended his pastoral care to those regions. No motive of ambition actuated me; and if you propose to provide for the spiritual needs there, you will save me from great embarrassment and relieve my conscience of a burden which weighs very heavily upon it. In such an event, my only anxiety would be that the United States would not allow the exercise of power, even of a spiritual nature, to a subject of great Britain.

I have the honor to be, with the most respectful devotion, your Lordship's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. Carroll,
Ecclesiastical Superior of the United States.
Baltimore, May 5, 1788."

The Bishop of Quebec answered this letter under date of October 6, 1788, replying as follows:

"M. J. Carroll,
Prefect Apostolic at Baltimore.
Sir:

Your letter of May 5, having only lately been handed me, I make it my duty to reply to it and to satisfy you about the subjects of which it treats.

His Eminence Cardinal Antonelli, having learned that M. De la Valiniere and the Abbe de St. Pierre had been sent to the Illinois with faculties from you, wrote to M. de Villars, vicar General at Paris of the bishop of Quebec, to ask him for information thereon, saying that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda was utterly in the dark in relation to this fact. Upon the report of M. de Villars, Bishop Desgly, my deceased predecessor, wrote last year in these terms: 'By the treaty of peace of 1783, the county situated south of the St. Lawrence river from the 45th degree of latitude having been ceded to the Anglo-Americans, and the Illinois being within this portion, the Bishop of Quebec has not sent any permanent missionary there since that time; it is even presumable that the government would take it in bad part if he did so. Hence things will be left as they are until a new order is established. It appears, indeed, that M. de la Valiniere and M. de St. Pierre were appointed to the Illinois region by the prefect apostolic of New England. I do not know the extent of their faculties of which they render no account to me; and, as for the rest, I am not disposed to disturb them about it, etc.

Such, sir, were the sentiments of my predecessor on the subject of these missions. It is true that they are incontestibly in the diocese of Quebec according to our original grant, and also that the Seminary of Quebec for a long time had the right to nominate a superior among the Tamarois, a prerogative which the said seminary resigned only in favor of the bishop of Quebec. Be that as it may, I believe it is prudent for us under the circumstances to accommodate ourselves until a new order adjusted to the circumstances of the time is inaugurated. Although I am not at liberty to assent to the dismemberment of this part of my diocese without the consent of my coadjutor and of my clergy, Divine Providence having permitted the Illinois, etc., to fall into the power of the United States, the spiritual charge of which is confided to your care, I urgently beseech you to continue for the present to provide for these missions, as it would be difficult for me to supply them myself without perhaps giving some offense to the British government. The testimony that is rendered on all sides

to your virtue convinces me that the faithful of that section will rejoice to have you for their ecclesiastical superior.

True it is that M. Gibault was nominated twenty years ago as vicar general for the Illinois country; but since that time the episcopal see of Quebec has twice changed its incumbent without his faculties having been renewed. Complaints of different kinds, especially a suspicion of treason towards the government, caused my predecessors to entertain some antipathy towards him, so much so that I propose to give him no employment for the future. That would be easier for you to do. * * *

I received a letter from him this year in which he asks to come back to the Province of Quebec. After the disadvantageous opinion that the government has formed of him. I can not prudently consent to his return. Nevertheless, if you judge it proper to continue him as a missionary, I ratify in advance all that you may be pleased to ordain therein, either in regard to him or to other missionaries now there or to be sent. Observe, please, that M. de la Valiniere is a man of very good morals, but that, as we have experienced in Canada, his turbulent spirit is capable to causing much trouble to his associates. As for Detroit, I shall continue to send missionaries there as heretofore.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, with sincere veneration, in union with your holy sacrifices, sir, your humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) Jean Francois,
Bishop of Quebec."

After receiving this letter Bishop Carroll, on January 20, 1790, wrote Father Gibault as follows:

"Baltimore, Jan. 20, 1790.

To M. Gibault, Priest at Post Vincennes.

Sir:

It happened very unfortunately for the affairs of your church as well as for my pleasure, that the bearers of your letters of June 16 and July 28 arrived and departed from here during my absence. You wrong M. de la Valiniere by imputing to him alone the accusations of which I made mention in my former letter. Travelers who returned to Philadelphia from Kaskaskia had mentioned these things even before his departure from there, and without knowing who was the priest whom these accusations particularly concerned, I had commanded him, at the time of his departure from Philadelphia, to send me some information on this subject. Since that time I have received from different sources the accounts of which I informed you in my last letter. In fact I regret to tell you that Monseigneur the Bishop of Quebec in a letter which he has written me, called to my notice that his predecessors had thought during the last years that they ought not to confide so much in you for all that part of the West as they had formerly done. Since the departure from here of Father Jacobin named Le Dru, I have not received, according to his agreement with me, a letter from his provincial in France, who was

to certify to the good conduct of Father Le Dru and authorize his stay in America and out of his monastery. On the contrary, I have received by way of New York some details on the conduct of this monk in Acadia which weigh me down with sorrow and make me blame my too great readiness in giving him power even for a very limited time. I beg of you to procure and send me by the first opportunity, some reliable information concerning him and his conduct at Kaskaskia. I am also worried with regard to M. de St. Pierre. He left here without any power to administer the sacraments, for at that time I possessed no right to grant it to him, and since his departure I have been unable to make up my mind to send him that power, because I am in no wise assured that he came to America with the consent of the superiors of his order or with such approbation as the usages of ecclesiastical discipline require. M. de la Valiniere told me, a long time ago, that M. de St. Pierre paid no attention to the authority that the former exercised on my behalf. Send me some more information in this matter if you so desire. It has been a long time since I have received news from M. de la Valiniere. A merchant from New York told me that he had seen him at New Orleans in the month of August, and that he was planning to come here by sea.

I am very much obliged to you for all the details into which you have entered respecting the possessions of the church at Post Vincennes, and, if the occasion presents itself, I shall try to profit by it so as to put the titles on a solid foundation.

The cases concerning which you agreed with the marguilliers to submit to my decision, are set forth in the papers herewith enclosed, and I have added my opinion on each one. I trust that it may be in accord with your private interest and satisfaction, as it is, so it seems to me, in accord with justice. Recommending myself to your holy sacrifices and prayers, I am with respect, sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

J. Carroll."

On January 20, 1792, the Bishop of Baltimore again wrote to the Bishop of Quebec:

"To Monseigneur Jean Francois,
Bishop of Quebec, at Quebec,
Monseigneur:

I received with emotion and veneration the congratulations which your Lordship did me the honor to address to me concerning the establishment of the new diocese of Baltimore. May this establishment become, what you predict, a stepping stone towards the growth of the true faith in the vast regions which my diocese embraces. May it ever be supported by episcopal virtues, Monseigneur, such as yours and by a clergy as edifying as that of Canada. For my part, I shall always consider it my duty to maintain with the see of Quebec not only a communion faith and a fraternal union of charity, but also to have towards your Lordship a respectful confidence and to give proof of this by the communication of all my views and projects to preserve

and enlarge the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Considering you as my elder in the bishopric and my model, I shall endeavor to liken my conduct to the principles which animate yours.

It is true—and for this I cannot thank Providence enough—the venerable M. Nagot, in consequence of the arrangements made during my stay in Europe, is here in Baltimore at the head of a seminary together with four other priests and six young ecclesiastics, four of whom are either English or American. They have secured a suitable house for themselves and all the exercises are performed there.

Besides the seminary, we have recently opened a school or Catholic college, some fifteen miles from here, for the literary and moral instruction of Catholic youth. I sincerely hope that Providence will draw many of the students in this college into the service of the Church, and that it will become a nursery for the seminary I shall then have, if I am still living, or my successors will have, the consolation of giving to our flock for their own ministers only priests brought up under our very eyes, and on whom we will be able to depend with moral assurance.

This is, then, Monseigneur, what you may write to M. Hody, who did me the honor to write to me some time ago, and to whom I intend to reply shortly.

I do not know whether they have written to you from Rome concerning the decision reached there in regard to the extent of our respective dioceses. All the territory of the United States has been placed under my jurisdiction. Apparently it was believed, and perhaps rightly, that our government would take unbrage at seeing you exercise spiritual authority in its domains. I am expecting this spring a few well chosen ecclesiastics from France to serve in the Illinois and at Post Vincennes.

You will greatly oblige me by procuring for me a sure and exact notice of the property which your church or your seminary possessed in the United States. These possessions belong to you still, according to our laws, if you have not lost possession of them through some act on your part. Last year M. Gibault and some other persons, by means of a statement which I regard false, obtained the grant of some ecclesiastical property situated at Kaskaskia and at Post Vincennes. (Cahokia?) I am taking steps to have that grant invalidated, but I am very much hampered because I lack definite knowledge concerning these possessions. I expect from you, Monseigneur, some information which will serve to defeat iniquity and advance our two dioceses.

I have the honor to be, in union with your holy sacrifices and with the profoundest respect, Monseigneur, your Lordship's

Very humble and obedient servant,

J. Bishop of Baltimore."

Three days after writing the last letter Bishop Carroll wrote Father Gibault:

“Baltimore, January 23, 1792.

Sir:

I have not yet had the good fortune to receive an answer to the letters which I gave to M. Vigo for you and for other persons in the month of December, 1790. I was informed, a short time ago, that the bearer of these different letters, was captured by the Indians. It is a misfortune for me. I had indeed need of information, and I was flattering myself that those letters would bring it. Among other things, I saw in the month of March of last year, the announcement of a law passed by the Congress of the United States, by which a certain possession, hitherto ecclesiastic, is transferred to you to be your private and particular property: and another property situated at Kaskaskia which they say belonged to the Jesuits, was granted to a certain individual. I should like to be instructed concerning this, for I am in the hope of receiving soon some helpers to aid you in your laborious duties, and it is important to preserve for you, for them, and for your successors the possessions of the Church.

I am happy to be able to say that a number of priests and young ecclesiastics from the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris came here last June, and that M. Nagot is the superior. He was formerly superior of the large seminary of his congregation in Paris. I do not doubt at all but that this establishment will become, with the help of God, a source of benediction on my diocese, and especially in that section where you are.

You will see by the circular letter for the inhabitants of the Post Vincennes, Kaskaskia, etc., that the ecclesiastics, whom I am still expecting from France, are destined for their service. You will doubtless receive them with joy, and brotherly kindness, I shall recommend them to you very warmly, and I trust that you will interest yourself so that the expenses of their long voyage may be defrayed, at least their expense from here. I have the honor to be, in union with your holy sacrifices, etc.,

Your very obedient servant,
J. Bishop of Baltimore.

On May 4, 1792, Bishop Carroll addressed still another letter to the Bishop of Quebec on this subject:

“Baltimore, May 4, 1792.

Monseigneur:

I had the honor to inform you in my last letter, Monseigneur, that the possession of Kaskaskia, to which your seminary of Quebec lays claim, had been granted to an inhabitant of that place, through some deceit managed in Congress; and that at the same time M. Gibault obtained, as his personal property, the possession belonging heretofore to the priest of Cahokia. Some two months ago, I presented to General Washington, president of the United States, a memorandum in which I introduced a few words relating to this double grant; but not having any exact knowledge of the titles of ownership of these possessions, I was not able to lay stress on this matter, which, never-

theless, I intend to take up again as soon as Congress reassembles, if in the meantime I can procure the required information. It seems to me that if the directors of the Seminary of your episcopal town, with whom, as I have been told, are deposited the titles of those possessions, were kind enough to entrust them to some responsible person, and if their right were proved, either the possessions would be returned, or an equivalent would be given.

We have here in the Seminary a young clerical from your diocese, who at present is studying theology. He is from Montreal, his name is Perinault. His father is now in France. This young ecclesiastic is very virtuous and of an excellent character. He has asked me to present to you, as his very honored and very worthy bishop, the homage of his esteem and submission, and also to ask if you think that it would be well for him to finish his theology here, and to take the sacred orders before returning to your diocese. In such a case, he will present to your Lordship his vows in order to have the necessary letter of dismissal.

M. Burke, formerly one of the directors of your seminary being the one who gave me the first information in regard to the titles of that seminary, to the possessions of Kaskaskia (Cahokia?) I have asked him to send me all the necessary information to establish these titles: on my part I am sending him by this same occasion copies of the act of Congress and an extract of the report which was presented to this body, and which resulted in its decree.

M. Burke has expressed some desire to come to my diocese and I consented, on condition that you, Monseigneur, should have no objection to his leaving, and that you think that he has the qualifications required to serve the Lord in the vineyard which He intrusted to me. M. Burke will show you the papers which I addressed to him.

It will be a very great satisfaction for me to learn, on the return of M. Delavau, that the new constitution of Canada is not prejudicial in any way to the welfare of true religion.

I have the honor of being with the sentiments of the greatest esteem and veneration, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,
J. Bishop of Baltimore."

And finally, the Bishop of Quebec writes Bishop Carroll under date of May 18, 1792:

"Montreal, May 18, 1792.

To Monseigneur, the Bishop of Baltimore.
Monseigneur:

I have communicated to the gentlemen of the Seminary of Quebec the paragraph in your last letter which concerned the mission of the Tamarois. The papers, here enclosed, which were given me after my departure on the pastoral visitation, may give you, Monseigneur, some light on the subject in question. On my part it would be impossible to throw any more light on the matter, inasmuch as I never had but a very imperfect knowledge of it. But as I am per-

suaded that your efforts tend only to the greatest glory of God, and to the welfare of the faithful of those regions, I in no wise doubt the success of the measures which you may take with the gentlemen of the Seminary for the advantage of that mission which Divine Providence has placed under your protecting care.

I have the honor to be, with a most respectful veneration, Monseigneur, etc.,

Jean Francois, Bishop of Quebec."

In this correspondence we have the story of Father Gibault's supposed dereliction in reference to church property. How culpable the good priest really was may be judged in the light of all the circumstances. Whether Bishop Carroll succeeded in securing a revocation of the grant by Congress, we are not advised, but of one thing one can speak with certitude, and that is that Father Gibault never received the land. Some writers have said that because of Bishop Carroll's interposition in this matter Father Gibault left the American side of the Mississippi, and engaged in the ministry of the church on the Spanish side. Whether or not this was the direct cause of his going to the other side of the Mississippi perhaps will never be known, but any one who has followed this narrative will agree that he certainly was not blameworthy for leaving a jurisdiction that had meant nothing but grief and abuse for him, to enter another where he had been repeatedly invited, and where the prospects for respect and even honor were bright. Whatever the cause was, Father Gibault left Cahokia in 1792, and became pastor at New Madrid. We will be able to follow his subsequent career in a succeeding chapter.

THE LAND DEALINGS CLARIFIED

To help clear up the confusion concerning the transaction in lands in which Father Gibault's name appears, it is well to bear in mind that when Father Gibault came to the Illinois country he carried with him a very extensive power of attorney from the real owners of the Cahokia holdings, the seigneurs or officers of the Seminary of Quebec, putting him in control of the property.

It will help to an understanding of this involved question to bear in mind that Father Gibault was in no way connected with lands or property elsewhere. Bishop Carroll was hopelessly confused on these matters, and constantly mistakenly referred to Kaskaskia lands and the property of the Jesuits. Father Gibault never had anything to do with the Jesuit plantation or property at Kaskaskia: Jean Baptiste Beauvais bought the Jesuit property in 1763 under the villainous decree of the Council of New Orleans.

Father Gibault's power of attorney concerning the Cahokia property read as follows:

POWER OF ATTORNEY, SEMINARY TO GIBAUT

"Before the undersigned Notaries Royal, residing at Quebec.

Personally came and appeared the reverend Urbain Bonet, Priest Superior of the Quebec Seminary, Sebastien Columban Pressart, Proctor, Mathurin Jacean Henri Francois Grave and Francois Hubert, Directors of the said Seminary who did and do hereby declare, that being in the impossibility of sending a missionary from the said Seminary to attend the Spiritual wants of the Parishioners of the parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias and being, however, desirous of doing everything to keep up the said mission and to put the said parish in possession of the property thereunto belonging which the Reverend Mr. Forget has sold without being authorized thereto. For that purpose, they have by these presents, made, nominated, established and constituted and do in fact nominate, establish and constitute for their General and special attorney, the reverend Pierre Gibault, Priest of the Diocese of Quebec sent by His Illustrious Excellency the Right Reverend Jean Oliver Briand, Bishop of Quebec, as missionary of the said Parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias, to whom, in the name of the said Seminary, they give power to administer, govern and manage all the properties belonging to the said Mission, to acquaint himself with the said properties to get an account rendered of the said properties by all whom it may concern; to take all legal proceedings if necessary jointly with the deputies or representatives of the said mission to obtain the cancellations of all deeds of sale or alienations of all the immovable property belonging to the said mission, that might have been made by the hereinbefore named reverend Mr. Forget, without being authorized thereto without any right whatsoever and without even having a power of attorney from the said Quebec Seminary, to whom alone the ownership of the said property belongs as being a dependency of the said Seminary who has disbursed on the said property over forty thousand pounds for the settlement of the said mission and for the maintenance and expenses of the missionaries that have been sent there since the year sixteen hundred and ninety-eight, and who received by public documents from His Lordship de Saint Valier, bishop of Quebec, the care of the said mission.

The appearers give also full power to their said Constituted attorney to recover and receive from whom it may appertain the sums of money paid or that remain to be paid on the sale of the negroes and moveable effects belonging to the said mission, to cause an account to be rendered by whom it may appertain of the issues and revenues belonging to the said mission of which the parties so rendering an account might have enjoyed, to cause the same parties to render an account of all such goods they might have alienated or sold, to settle and audit the said accounts, to receive the balance still due thereon,

to give valid discharges and acquittances the said Constituents declaring that the landed property and sums of money growing out of the sale of the negroes and other moveable effects shall remain for the benefit of the said mission, and be employed by the Constituted Attorney as also by the inhabitants of the said Mission in the manner that they will judge the most advantageous and forever for the benefit and good of the said mission but under the authority nevertheless and with the consent of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec who has signed these presents; the appearers willing that the landed property belonging to the said mission and still there be not sold nor alienated by whomsoever, but that the issues and revenues only be collected for the maintenance of the said mission without delapidating any part thereof, and whereas the reverend Gentlemen of the Seminary do not intend receiving any profit from the sums of money collected on the landed property or the moveables of the said mission, but that on the contrary that they desire that the said sums of money be made use of for the restoration of the said mission, the maintenance of the missionaries who will be sent there and in the surrounding country either by His Lordship the Bishop or by the reverend Gentlemen of the Seminary, they therefore declare that they do not bind themselves to make any advance of money for the maintenance of the mission, or for law costs or otherwise. And in the event of any difficulties arising in and about the affairs of the said mission, they give to the said Mr. Gibault and the said Parishioners power to take out all suits before all courts of justice, to oppose, to elect domicile, to procure all judgments, to put the same to execution by all legal and reasonable means, to appoint arbitrators to appeal from or submit to their judgment, to name attornies, to revoke them or substitute others in their places, to pay all costs and make all disbursements in the name of the said parish of the Holy Family, and Generally to make for the good and benefit of the said mission all and every the things the constituents might or could do if they were personally present, promising to ratify everything, wishing and willing that the present Power of Attorney be not revoked by lapse of time and that it remain valid until it be expressly revoked and this on account of the great distances, obliging, etc., renouncing, etc.

Done and passed at Quebec at the Seminary in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-eight the fourteenth day of May in the forenoon, and His Excellency and the said Constituents have signed after due reading thereof, thus signed on the original recorded in the office of Mr. Panet, the undersigned Notary, 'J. Ol. Eveque de Quebec,' 'Bonet Priest,' 'Superior,' 'Jacran Ptre,' 'Pressart Ptre,' 'Grave Ptre,' 'Hubert Ptre,' 'Sanguinet Notary and we undersigned notary.'

True copy conform to the original found in the minutes of the late Mr. J. C. Panet, Notary for that part of Canada heretofore called Lower Canada, deposited among the Archives of this District, Compared and collated by us the undersigned keepers of the same and Prothanotaries of the Superior Court of Lower Canada at Quebec this fourteenth day of September eighteen hundred and fifty seven.

(Signed) 'BURROUGHS, S. Fiset,' P. S. C.

There is nothing to indicate that Father Gibault acted under this power of attorney until ten years had passed by. At the end of ten years an occasion arose where his power was exercised. One Dame Marie Barbe Harlin, a widow, perhaps in the possession of some of the Seminary property, granted a parcel to a Mr. Poirier and his wife by a writing as follows:

"Before the Notary Public of Caokias and the witnesses hereinafter named, were present Dame Marie Barbe Harlin, widow of the late Pierre Dumary (?) which said Dame has acknowledged and confessed to have sold, assigned, transferred and made over with promise of warranty from all troubles, debts, mortgages, evictions, alienations, gifts, dowers and other incumbrances generally whatever to Mr. Poirier and to Dame Joseph Kelle his wife hereunto present and accepting, all the buildings erected on the town lot conceded to them by Mr. Chez the Commandant without producing any titles to the property to obtain which titles the said Mr. Poirier shall make all his efforts with the reverend Mr. Gibault, missionary and Vicar General to obtain a title of concession, the said buildings being thus sold for the price and sum of sixty pounds currency in furs payable in the course of the month of May of the next year this sum being for the said buildings only. Executed at Caokias the eighteenth day of August eighteen hundred and seventy seven, in the presence of Mr. Jean Baptiste Mercier, witness who has signed with the said Vendor, and the said Notary on the original of these presents; the said purchaser has made his Cross in the presence of the said Notary after due reading hereof according to the requirements of the ordinance.

(Signed) 'J. Bte. SENET, Notary Public. -

Collated and examined by the undersigned Notaries Public at Quebec on a certified copy handed to them and immediately returned. Done at Quebec the sixteenth day of August eighteen hundred and eighty-four.

(Signed) BERTHELOT DARTINGY,

(Signed) A. PANET."

This paper was submitted to Father Gibault, and he was requested to approve the same. Accordingly, Father Gibault executed the following document:

"I the undersigned Priest Vicar General of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec fiscal proctor of the Seigneurs of Kaokias, do hereby certify to have conceded and do hereby concede a town lot of one hundred and fifty feet in front by one hundred and fifty feet in width bounded on one side by the street, on the two others by the Domaine on the fourth side by Jacques Lagrange to Joseph Poirier, to have and to hold the same in full property but however subject to acknowledgement, in testimony whereof I have signed at Kaokias this fifteenth May 1778.

(Signed) P. GIBAULT, Ptre. V. G. F. P."

This document was forwarded to Quebec for the approval of the officers of the Seminary, whereupon these officers took action as indicated in the following document:

“We Directors Superior and Proctor of the Quebec Seminary, do hereby ratify and confirm inasmuch as the same may be required, the concession hereinabove made by Mr. Gibault subject to the Condition that the possessor shall pay to the original owners of the soil or their representatives by way of acknowledgement, the ground rent that shall be determined by the authorities of the place. Quebec 16th August 1784.

(Signed) BEDARD, Pst. of the Seminary,
GRAVE, “Proctor.”

Thus was established the precedent for the sale of the Cahokia property belonging to the Seminary by Father Gibault. We now come to another land transaction, in which Father Gibault sells some of the same property to no less a personage than Colonel George Rogers Clark:

SALE OF LAND BY FATHER GIBAULT, MAY 7, 1779.

(K. MMS. Court Record, f. 172)

I, the undersigned, priest, vicar general of Monseigneur the Bishop of Quebec, in the country of the Illinois, and (word illegible) Procureur fiscal of the Foreign Missions of the Holy Family of Cahokia, certify that I have ceded and do cede a plot of land of ten arpents frontage, beginning at the first limit half an arpent above the source of the spring which issues from the rock, commonly called the mill of M. L'Abbe, and descending to the row of willows towards the Mississippi, the remainder lying in the commons and extending back from the line of the great bluffs to twenty-one arpents in depth, to enjoy in full and perpetual propriety the said land above described, to M. Stephen Trigg, his heirs and assigns without trouble or prejudice, on condition, however, that the said M. Stephen Trigg, his heirs and assigns, shall pay the dues, both ecclesiastical and civil, common to all the other citizens, as well as the seigniorial dues which may be established hereafter by the republic. The present is given as a title of concession. Signed by our hand at Cahokia this twenty-first of April, in the year of grace of Jesus Christ, 1779.

(Signed) P. GIBAULT,
Missionary Priest, Vicar General.

(Illnois Historical Collectioni, V. S. (Kaskaskia Records), pp. 77, 78.)

This concession was made by Father Gibault to Stephen Trigg, one of Clark's officers, on April 21, 1779, and transferred by the latter to Clark on May 6, of the same year. Both deeds were registered at Kaskaskia instead of Cahokia. (Kas. Rec., Court Record.)

One Col. Dorsey Pentecoste seems to have obtained an assignment of Clark's claim and attempted to press it, but eventually the United States disallowed Pentecoste's claim on the ground that Father Gibault had no authority to alienate the lands of the Church and was expressly prohibited from doing so. (Am. State Papers, Pub. Lands, p. 139.)

With respect to this grant the inhabitants of Cahokia memorialized Congress as follows:

M. Gibault, *cure*, serving the parish of Kaskaskia 20 leagues from our village, has dared to arrogate secretly the power of disposing of this prairie by conceding it to Colonel Clark, who has resold this same concession to M. Pentecoste, who today wishes to take possession and dispossess the inhabitants thereof.

It has never been in the power of any ecclesiastic of the Illinois to dispose of the property of the subjects. Neither the laws nor their state have ever given them a power so arbitrary. So far from having had therein any authority or right, their duty has been limited to saying the Mass and to receiving the remuneration which accrues to them for celebrating divine service; and never have the priests had the permission or the privilege of giving concessions. This privilege has formerly belonged to the commandants and the commissaries of the places, when they were authorized thereto by the sovereign; and never has any priest interfered or dared to assume such an authority.

M. Gibault, knowing that he had no right nor authority to make the concession, but in order to make a merit and to deceive the good faith of M. Clark, has made this concession fraudulently and against the public good faith. Also he has kept silent about it (and it didn't come to the knowledge of the inhabitants until this day) on account of the fear, which he undoubtedly had, that they would disgrace and confuse him with having deceived M. Clark; and at the same time, he wished, if it had been in his power, to dispossess the said inhabitants of their property by a concession as vain as underhanded, which he had given secretly to M. Clark, because he wished to persuade him of his false power.

What would become of the citizens of this part if trickeries, so manifest and so scandalous, were allowed; and where would be the public surety of property? There would no longer be any; and no proprietor could be assured of being undisturbed in his own home. This liberty, so dear, would be only its shadow.

It is to anticipate so evil a purpose and to stop the course of the attempts which M. Pentecoste wishes to make on our property, which attempts rest on such a vain title, or to stop other concessions, burdensome and prejudicial to us, which he may undertake to obtain from our lords of Congress, that we take the liberty, our Lords and Sovereigns, of addressing your tribunal, in order to pray you to regard the concession, made by the said M. Gibault, as a manifest fraud and as given by a man not empowered in this matter and who has never had

power over our property; and to declare it null and improper and to dismiss M. Pentecoste to pleade against Colonel Clark and this latter against Gibault, who shall be held to show us his powers, by virtue of which he wishes to dispossess us of our property and lands, which we have possessed since the establishment of Cahokia, which is more than eighty years; possessions which his predecessors and even the former commandants have always respected.

We dare to hope, sirs, that you will set aside and annul all other concessions or permissions, which M. Pentecoste may obtain from you, which tend to dispossess us of our possessions, and consent that he cannot obtain a larger amount of land than that which the Court of this district will grant him in places which shall not be settled and up to the present have not been taken up by anyone, such concession not to exceed ten arpents in width and four hundred ad forty arpents in area; which amount of land shall be given to him, where it will not be prejudicial to anyone.

Enclosed herewith, our Lords, you will find the copy of the power of attorney which the chapter of Canada sent to M. Gibault, the original of which is deposited at the office of the district of Cahokia, from which power of attorney you will see that M. Gibault neither could nor should dismember or concede any part or portion of the lands and property of the mission of Cahokia without the express consent of the inhabitants of the said place, to whom all this property is conveyed for the maintenance of the said mission or priest, that the said inhabitants shall wish to establish here; and that consequently M. Gibault, since he has never administered this cure, has had no right nor power. Besides we do not fear to advance that, at the time when he gave this pretended concession secretly and without the knowledge of the inhabitants, he was interdicted by order of the bishop of Canada, and we do not know if that interdiction is yet removed; but all interdictions annul all acts and contracts, which the one, so interdicted, may have made while it lasted; and consequently all his powers are annulled.

We ask again of you, our Lords, with all respect and submission that we owe to our sovereigns and with all the fidelity which we have sworn to you, that you grant us the justice, for which we pray, against all the attacks of M. Pentecoste upon our property, lands and commons, about which you cannot yourselves know, unless a person, informed and without partiality, makes to you a faithful report thereof. Therefore, we have intrusted M. Gabriel Cerre, merchant of the Illinois, and bearer of these presents, to give you all the necessary information so that you may render us the justice, which good and faithful subjects should expect from their sovereigns, for the preservation of our property which is on the verge of being a prey to the voracity of M. Pentecoste, who is eager to dispoil us of our patrimony and to compel us to make of ourselves and our families a sacrifice to tyranny by obliging us to seek an asylum among strangers after having spent our life-blood in making our lands valuable for his rapacity. We beseech you to pardon us if we make use of these expressions; but

the letter which he has written here proves sufficiently his intentions, a copy of which we send joined herewith.

We pray you, our Lords, that we be maintained in all our possessions, usages, former customs and laws so that no authority can do violence to any other court of the Illinois, since we know the incapacity, spite and partiality of the subjects who might exercise it; but we pray you to grant us the permission to govern ourselves as we have always done. (Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Alvord, p. 581, et. seq.)

This complaint emanating from the residents of Cahokia plainly has very little foundation in merit, at least insofar as it attributes any ulterior motive to Father Gibault. When the Cahokians say that Father Gibault had no power to sell the Church lands, they put a strict construction upon the power of attorney from the officers of the Seminary of Quebec. This document conferred very broad powers upon Father Gibault and, as we have already seen, he had prior to this transfer exercised a power of sale and his exercise thereof was approved by the officers of the Seminary.

No doubt the Seminary was entirely willing to sell at least such of the property as was not needed for church purposes. At any rate they ratified Father Gibault's first sale. Moreover, in the state of public feeling just at the time that Father Gibault made this sale, concerning which the residents of Cahokia complained so bitterly, anybody might have been expected to be willing to accommodate the savior and deliverer, George Rogers Clark, to whom the property was sold. Apparently Clark liked the little village of Cahokia and desired to own some property there. Father Gibault no doubt was approached with reference to a purchase, and believing, no doubt, that he had power to sell was doubly glad to make a sale to Colonel Clark. Whether application was made to the officers of the Seminary at Quebec to approve the sale we do not know, but it does appear that Clark assigned his contract or deed of conveyance to Col. Dorsey Pentecoste, who later came to Cahokia and attempted to reduce the property to possession but failed.

In the meantime the war of the revolution having ended and the territory having come into the possession of the United States, a committee of Congress takes up the question of land grants and disallows the Clark-Pentecoste claim.

Now how far, or in what respect is Father Gibault blameworthy in connection with this transaction? It is plain that he had extensive power to deal with the land. True the officers of the Seminary of Quebec might have refused to approve the sale. There appears noth-

ing to indicate that they did disapprove. There is not the slightest reason for supposing that Father Gibault ever received a farthing in connection with the transaction; and, finally, the transaction resulted in no harm to the residents of Cahokia or to any one else who had a legal claim on the property, since the grant was disallowed by Congress, and neither the purchaser nor his assigns received the property.

In all fairness we must absolve Father Gibault from fault in connection with this transaction.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

THE CURIOUS LEGEND OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN KENTUCKY*

INTRODUCTION

This study of the historic facts regarding a visit by Louis Philippe of France (then Duc d'Orleans) to Kentucky in 1797 was made by Mr. Allison after many years of reading and traditionary contact with the legends that developed from that casual visit. Similar legends grew up at New Orleans, Vincennes, and other points in America where Louis Philippe stopped briefly. For various reasons Mr. Allison hesitated to disturb the story, but studies in the beginnings of monasticism in Kentucky convinced him that the labors of early Catholic missionaries, their sacrifices and devotion, had been the pedestal that the ivy of a King's name had overgrown and obscured. Popular legends, Mr. Allison concluded, were indestructible to the general public who love the glamor of personality and costume, but he did have the feeling that for those who seek the facts of history the truth should be registered. Hence the main paper. When it was written the Filson Club invited him to read it before that venerable historical society in November, 1923.

Publication of summaries in the press at once started controversy and a reopening of forgotten chapters in early Catholic and general pioneer history in Kentucky. Under the circumstances the formal printing of the study was delayed until the results of fresh research and criticism were available. The postscript to the original paper is therefore added to consider the criticisms. Both are presented as studies in history and the psychology of legendary stories.

Everyone with an appreciation of sound scholarship and literary grace will, I am sure, welcome this addition to the notable series of poetic, fictional and historical productions comprising Allisonana.

C. I. HITCHCOCK.

Louisville, Kentucky,
December 6, 1924.

A most interesting fable, almost affiliated with history in Kentucky, is the curious legend of Louis Philippe, "King of the French." It is to the effect that sometime between 1797 and 1830, while still Duke of Orleans, that personage lived for several years in humble exile at Bardstown, supporting himself by teaching French, dancing and deportment; that he played the fiddle for his dancing pupils, the royal fingers twiddling skillfully to the rhythms of minuet and sara-band. The explanation given is that he was there under the fatherly care of Bishop Flaget, first bishop of the Catholic diocese of Bardstown. After the prince was chosen constitutional King in France in 1830 the fable expands and has it that he sent handsome presents to

*This paper was originally read before the Filson Club, Louisville, November 5, 1923. It is here published by permission of the Filson Club, the author and owner of the copyright.

the Bishop's cathedral of old St. Joseph, as marks of royal gratitude and affection.

It has grown to be a tempting story, the beginning of which is like the invariable "Once upon a time there was a handsome but unfortunate young Prince" of other fairy tales. For the young Duke of Orleans was handsome, was unfortunate in his birth, in his bringing up and his early experiences. He had remarkable adventures and a career of surprising extremes of romantic good and bad fortune. But the chapter concerning Kentucky is a pure construction of legendry—a castle of fancy such as Balzac says a poet can, with imagination, build upon the point of a needle. It is all founded upon Louis Philippe's passage without stop or stay through Kentucky in April, 1797, and his casual meeting in Havana, Cuba, in the summer of 1799 with a young priest who became afterwards the first Bishop of Bardstown.

A pendant or accompaniment of the legend exists also at Owingsville in Bath County, where it is firmly imbedded in local traditions. There, they say, the prince spent eleven months in 1814-15 as the guest of Col. Thomas Deye Owings, the early iron-master of Eastern Kentucky. As evidenced by undeniable historical records, Louis Phillippe "resided" at Bardstown for the space of not less than thirty-six nor more than sixty hours during April, 1797. It is not probable that he even passed through Owingsville. That short and uncertain pause at Bardstown has thus, in the fables served to cover a "residence" of from three to five years in Kentucky.

The records of Louis Philippe's early and only visits to Kentucky have been brought together by Jane Marsh Parker in an article in the *Century Magazine* for September, 1901, entitled "Louis Philippe in the United States." She cites her authorities in history, memoir and newspaper files. Better than all, she obtained from a member of the Orleans family, having custody of Louis Philippe's private papers, the entries in his diary concerning his stay in the United States from his arrival at Philadelphia in October, 1796, until he reached Bardstown, April 20-21, 1797. The prince filled two other books with entries covering his American stay. These have been lost, or at least mislaid, possibly by mistake sealed up with political papers awaiting release for historical use in the future. At any rate we have his own record of part of his itinerary in Kentucky.

April 15, 1797, he crossed the Tennessee line, coming from Nashville to Louisville. He was accompanied by his younger brothers, the Count de Montpensier, aged 22, and the Count de Beaujolais, aged 19, and a trusted servant named Baudoin. Louis Philippe was then

in his 24th year. He traveled incognito as "Mr. D'Orleans," his brothers as MM. de Montpensier and de Beaujolais. On the night of the 15th they stopped at Captain Chapman's in "the Barrens." Next night with a ferryman on Green River. Thence to a Pennsylvania "Dutch" farmer's, named Racker. The fourth night they lodged at Mr. Hodgkins'. This sounds suspiciously like Hodgins, or Hodgens, from which came Hodgenville, near the site of the Lincoln Memorial. Abraham Lincoln spelled it "Hoggins," so that "Mr. D'Orleans'" spelling of the same name, if faulty, may be excused.

Late the next afternoon, April 20, 1797, they arrived at Bardstown and put up at Captain Bean's tavern. The town then consisted of about 150 houses, for the most part of logs. Here "Mr. D'Orleans" was "taken seriously ill." A "show" (probably of performing bears, popular then) was to be given that night and Mrs. Bean, the landlady, deeply offended the sufferer by going to the show and leaving him to the tender mercies of his servant Baudoin. It was only a stomach ache, from which he recovered rapidly next day. On the second morning after his arrival he mounted his horse and rode away. Mrs. Parker upon this entry permits herself to offer this statement and suggestion: "Louis Philippe, when King of the French, sent a clock to the Roman Catholic Church at Bardstown, which suggests that he had some pleasant reminiscences of the place—kindly attention from the good pere, no doubt." We shall see that he sent no clock to the Cathedral. When he was in Bardstown there was no 'good pere' in that village. The nearest chapel was St. Thomas in the woods, several miles away, and the next was Holy Cross, still farther away. Besides, "Mr. D'Orleans" and his father, the notorious Philip Egalite, as republicans, had been busy suppressing religion in France and cared little for priests. Mrs. Parker's note merely shows how some sort of history can be made by hearsay and suggestion.

From Bardstown the party pushed on to Louisville, Frankfort, Lexington and Maysville, where, the last of April, they crossed to Ohio and went North and East. Mrs. Parker found no entries after Bardstown and no mention in Kentucky newspapers of the royal visitors. The old "Kentucky Gazette" of that year has twice been carefully examined for the purpose of this article and no record of the visits found. Owingsville was probably off the route.

It appears, then, that Louis Philippe was in Kentucky about fifteen days in April, 1797. He never set foot here again, except, perhaps in passing down the Ohio to New Orleans eight months later in a flatboat. After January, 1800, he never again set foot on

United States soil. Every week of his time in America is accounted for.

From New Orleans in March, 1798, he and his party sailed to Havana, where as "sons of the Regicide Egalite," they found themselves at once in hot water and the spotlight of politics. The Spanish Government ordered them to leave. They made their way with difficulty to Halifax, N. S. There they fell into fresh political complications with England, which made their movements history. Finally, in February, 1800, they were permitted to land in England where their mother provided Orleans House at Twickenham for their residence. George III allowed them a liberal pension. Their mother was rich, though temporarily embarrassed for funds, and Louis Philippe was heir to his father's immense fortune. It was in sequestration, but it was an asset of great promise. There was, therefore, no reason of pecuniary pressure why he should disappear to earn his living laboriously and humbly at Bardstown or at Owingsville.

Under the circumstances his disappearance at any time up to June, 1815, when Waterloo was fought, would have created as much excitement in Europe as the mysterious disappearance of the son of John D. Rockefeller or of Henry Ford would now create in the United States. Even more—for Louis Philippe was not only potentially the richest man in Europe (his father's private fortune being estimated at 135,000,000 francs), but he was also of royal blood and a political factor of importance. There was no time after February, 1800, when he was beyond the searching vision of society and politics. In 1809 he married Marie Amelie, daughter of Ferdinand II of Naples. In 1814, when Napoleon was sent to Elba, the duke returned to Paris from England. Louis XVIII restored to him his father's fortune but kept him under surveillance as a dangerous political suspect. After Waterloo he remained in France until he fled to England from the Revolution of 1848, after reigning eighteen years. He died there at Claremont in 1850, aged 77 years.

Those with good knowledge of history who have believed in the "residence" without investigation, usually put forward at this point the fact that Louis Philippe did actually disappear from public view for about four years, and argue therefrom that he was then possibly in hiding at Bardstown. Those four years are, however, fully accounted for. They cover the period from 1793 to 1797. Suspected of conspiring with his commanding general, Dumouriez, to seize the French throne from the Republican Directory,

the two were forced to flee for their lives. For four years the prince wandered incognito from Switzerland through Northern Europe to escape detection. That period ended when he came to America in 1796 and ceased troubling.

Owing to the absence of a definite date when he "is said" to have lived at Bardstown for several years, it is somewhat difficult to fix a firm grasp upon that section of the legend. In Owingsville they fix the Bardstown date variously at 1812 and 1821. But in those years, he, the richest man in Europe, was living in England or in Paris with his wife and family, never ceasing from his desire for the French throne, which at last he gained.

Mr. E. Baker Smith of Bardstown, architect and builder, died in 1920 in his ninety-second year. He was of unblemished character, with a clear, accurate and retentive memory. A staunch Catholic, he had much to do with constructing many of the church properties in the vicinity. He it was who twice lowered the bell from the Cathedral tower when it was to be recast and both times replaced it. He told me in his last year that his father, who had come to Bardstown in 1812, had said that he had never been able to find anybody among the oldest persons in Bardstown who claimed actually to have seen Louis Philippe. His father had talked with persons who had heard of other persons who were said to have studied French or deportment or dancing under him, but the hearsay report was always one or two removes distant. He was said, vaguely, to have lived for a time with Bishop Flaget in a "white house over on the hill," a little distant from St. Joseph's Church. Bishop Flaget was consecrated Bishop of Bardstown in 1810, less than a year after Louis Philippe had married the daughter of the King of Naples. The Bishop left no record in writing or spoken word that the prince had ever lived at Bardstown under his care, nor does any record of it appear in any of the Catholic or other historical archives. This, if the story were true, would be all the more singular, because the good Bishop had met the Duke in Havana in 1798, had rendered him tactful service in an acute emergency, and would not be at all likely to ignore him in his diary.

Still, we are not to assume that the fable was made out of whole cloth. With all its vagueness it has yet some points suggesting definiteness. Why, for instance, should the prince be described as "teaching school," even though his curriculum consisted of "French, deportment and dancing?" He had taught school elsewhere and was highly educated. When scarcely twenty-one, a fugi-

tive from those his father had betrayed, and, himself was suspected of betraying, he, friendless and unknown, had under the alias of "M. Chabaud-Latour" passed the necessary examinations and received the appointment of professor of mathematics, French, geography and history at the College of Reichenau in Switzerland. Yet we are expected to believe that this scholarly and capable prince taught at Bardstown, French, dancing and deportment—three accomplishments which those hardy early settlers would certainly need less than all others—when he might have been teaching the important and useful branches of mathematics, geography and history. Yet it is to be noted that he was "teaching," which would at least be in character. Let us examine this closely.

When the prince spent a day or two in Bardstown in 1797 it is extremely doubtful if anybody there knew his real identity. The only comment he and his brothers excited in Kentucky was natural surprise (duly recorded in his diary) that three able-bodied young men, with an elderly servant to attend to their wants, should be riding idly through the wilderness, just sightseeing. Why didn't they take up rich land somewhere and work it? But, thirty-three years later, when the same prince was King of the French and his identity with the Bardstown traveler was established, it was quite another thing. His Government clashed with President Andrew Jackson over the payment of our French spoliation claims, and every incident of his personal history became interesting to Americans. Moreover the King was fond of talking to Americans received at Versailles about his journey through their country. De Tocquerville remarks upon his tenacious memory of that journey, even to the characteristics of towns, the full Christian names and ages of representative persons he had met, and the opinions they had expressed. He was the most adroit politician of his period and possessed the politician's first great asset of good memory.

Thus it came out at last that he had traversed Kentucky, that he had visited Bardstown. Meanwhile a whole generation had passed at Bardstown. Men who had been forty and fifty had reached seventy-five and eighty-five. We all know what happens to the memories of those grown old, untrained in and unaccustomed to accuracy. When it comes to competition between such memories the product is often a flower that refuses to blush unseen, and multiplies itself like a weed of the field. We may well imagine something like this conversation among the older inhabitants:

"Yes, I remember that fellow; stopped at Capt. Bean's; they had

curious French names and he taught me how to pronounce them in French. Now that fellow is a King—well! well!”

“And don’t you remember,” says another, “that he took Capt. Bean’s fiddle and played it and some of us got to dancing and he showed us how they danced in France.”

“Sure he did,” chimes in a third, “and showed us, too, how they bowed to the ladies and led them back to their chairs after dancing.”

To such extent it is probable that Louis Philippe taught “French, dancing and deportment” one day in Bardstown. Any youthful traveler might have spent an idle day in just such manner. Time and the rivalry of memories among those not liking to be omitted from the “great events of history” did the rest. The one or two days’ stay easily grew to be years. He had to have a place to live—he was a friend of the good Bishop—very well, he lived with the Bishop. The Bishop had received many fine things from Europe for the Cathedral—who but the King could have sent them? Many legends of far more importance than this have been built upon foundations quite as frail.

Curiosity enough, there were other picturesque figures of those early Bardstown days of 1797-1830 to contribute colors of life to the fairy story of the good Bishop, the exiled Prince and the grateful King. There were two persons in the vicinity suggesting actual mystery and romance, giving rise to a belief in the residence of a prince in the near neighborhood. One was a priest without charge—the earliest school-teacher—Father William de Rohan, who came from the Sorbonne in Paris, drifted to Nelson County through the wilderness, and built of logs at Holy Cross the first Catholic Church in Kentucky. He possessed only partial religious faculties; he was given to drink—too prevalent among men at that time; he taught the first school in the settlement and lived there in poverty, and gentle toleration of his weaknesses and with the love of his pupils, from 1792 until he died about 1832, a forgotten, desolate old man.

Who Father de Rohan was, nobody even now exactly knows. The Catholic Church, beginning with Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, treated him with patient consideration and with firmness, but did not seek to fix particularly the identity of this priest of its first Kentucky church. Historians content themselves with a line saying, “he was said to be of Irish parentage, born in France.” He came to America about the time when that Cardinal Prince Louis Rene Edouard de Rohan, a royal libertine of the church in France, was the central figure in the throne-shaking scandal of Marie Antoinette, Madame de la Motte-Valois, and the famous Diamond Necklace. That prince was

connected with the Sorbonne, was afterward its President, and was one of the familiars of the notorious Count Cagliostro. William de Rohan might have been of that family—but the veil over the mystery of this reputed Irishman with the French name and birth has never been lifted. Even the place of his grave is unknown. Yet somebody must have scented a secret in the very ambiguity that enveloped him then, as it does now. Some gossip of his name and lineage must have circulated then, as it does still. For if he were of that family, rich in the cardinalcy, he was of royal blood—a prince. In those days, when emigres from the unleashed peasant power in France were hiding from sight everywhere, any supposed connection with that royal house, however remote, might properly account for the silence, the consideration, the care. His own nature accounted for his general popularity. He was gay, yet learned; devoted, yet weak; mercurial, yet industrious; living in his log hut alone, cultivating his garden, teaching the youth with loving care and yielding to his failings with the way of a child. It is the picture of a man to be loved, however much his vices be deplored.

The other man about whom clung mystery was also French, and he came to Nelson County in 1805—Father Maria Joseph Dunand, who joined the first colony of Trappist monks there and became their prior. He had been a sergeant in Napoleon's impressed army in France, but was a devout Catholic. Ordered one day to take a resisting priest out and shoot him, the sergeant released the captive and bade him flee. Himself, making his way into hiding, escaped, and became a Trappist. He remained near Bardstown with his fellow Trappists until they went to Missouri about 1810. He became a famous missionary and established the frontier church of Florissant, now St. Charles, Missouri. He was fearless, devout; the story of his life reads almost like that of another St. Paul for dangers and hardships encountered and endured. He was a marked figure in Bardstown vicinity—the tall, soldier-like, red-bearded monk, who did his work in the field and forest in silence and carried on practical business with few words. Wherever he went the influence of his personality left the sign that a Man had passed by.

These two were as picturesque in their ways as the young prince known as Mr. D'Orleans had been in his. If you will consider the proper French pronunciation of those three names—D'Orleans, de Rohan, Dunand—and consider how they would sound and mingle in the ear of the average unlettered American or English settler, you will perceive that they might easily become interchangeable, fused into one confusion. To two of them attached a mystery of royalty, to

the other a vague Napoleonic connection. A friend, in advocacy of the truth of the legend, reports that he read in some forgotten book a letter from a lady who passed through Nelson County in 1804-5, who spoke of having seen one whom she vaguely describe as the "French prince" at work with a hoe in his field. Yet it was certainly not the Duke of Orleans, who was then living in England. Was it the whispered "Prince" in his garden, or the mysterious Napoleonic Trappist in the garden of the log monastery? Was it the name of de Rohan or Dunand that she heard? Who can say?

There remains a final election of theory for the origin of this myth. Was there an impostor who stayed in Bardstown for some time representing himself as the Duke of Orleans? It seems wholly improbable. If such an imposture had been practiced it would seem that it must have left more marks of definiteness. It would have been remembered when and why the impostor came, when he left, where he lived. He must have had contacts in the small population which would have left his name upon some old records or impressed his personality distinctly upon memories. On the other hand, if there was an impostor, and he stayed only a short time, that much might even have given basis for the fabled three years. In New Orleans, where the prince stayed but five weeks, the various houses in which he was entertained, or said to have been entertained, for longer or shorter time, were years afterward sold to advantage upon such representation. On that basis a New Orleans historian has estimated that Louis Philippe must have spent four years there in the space of five weeks! Legends spread like wildfire. Finally, if there was an impostor at Bardstown it must have been before Bishop Flaget arrived in 1810. Because he knew the prince.

It is fair to think that there was an imposter at Owingsville in 1814. The story there is categorical, in spite of anachronisms and additions that have crept into it. Col. Thomas Deye Owings, it is told, met one who called himself Duke of Orleans in Baltimore; they became intimate friends at once and the "prince" was invited to come West with Colonel Owings and pay a long visit. Then begins a remarkably confused story. This "prince," invited as a guest, instead of being installed in the finest residence of the village—built and occupied by his host—goes by preference to live with Colonel Owings' coal miners and iron workers in their filthy cabins and worksheds, sleeps with them in their "coal baskets," engages in their rough wrestling matches, hunts, and other frontier sports—a rude workman among workmen for several months. Then as suddenly he transfers himself to the luxurious "suite" in the Owings residence,

where he becomes the curled darling of courts, exhibits the manners of a prince of the Old Regime, recalling "the grandeur that was Greece" and the purples that were Paris. Cinderella becomes permanently enchanted in glory. Then dramatically arrives an appeal from France, suffering under the rule of its legitimate King of the Restoration, Louis XVIII. Our "prince" tears himself away from Owingsville, leaving upon the exact date of June 17, 1815. Waterloo, it will be remembered, was to be concluded the next day, when Cambronne made his last stand for the Corsican usurper. But the "prince" did not know that. The very innocency of the date may be taken to support the theory of an actual impostor, because even though Napoleon had "broken out" of Elba in the preceding February, the news in those days scarcely could have traveled to Owingsville by June. A veritable prince in that wilderness might well have believed Napoleon still under lock and key, and that a legitimate king was again handing France over to the dogs—as so many before him had done.

If you do not believe all this they can show you proofs at Owingsville in the very openings in the hills where the coal and iron ore were mined; the old Owings home, where Versailles had its brief reincarnation; a copy (not the original) of his letter of farewell to Mrs. Owings, and no traces of the parting book he is said to have sent her with the letter. As a matter of fact Louis Philippe was in Paris from early in 1814 until April, 1815, moving heaven and earth to have his patrimony restored, as subsequently it was. He, with the rest of the Bourbon and Orleans families had to decamp before Napoleon's sortie from Elba in the spring of 1815, and he fled back to England to return to Paris after Waterloo. Yet there are almost indubitable inherent signs of an impostor who spent eleven months in Owingsville, imposing upon Colonel Owings and his fellow-townsmen. This Louis Philippe at Owingsville is a sturdier and yet an even more unconvincing figure than that one who seems to peep out of the haze at Bardstown.

It only remains to say of these legends of residence that no authentic history of Kentucky, no known memoir, preserved letter, or journal of the times, make any mention of them, while the detailed story of Louis Philippe's life proves them to have been impossible. Any attempt to fixe a date for either fable insures its instant destruction.

The entire legend is in fact dissipated so readily by the old, simple process of applying to it the acid test of chronology and recorded history that you will think it surprising the exposure was not long

ago made. It may be that the fables seemed to superficial writers so much more interesting than the facts that they yielded to the temptation to adopt the fiction. Or, that serious historians were too busy with more important actual affairs to waste time upon it. It has been casually repudiated often, but without offered proof. So it has prospered and strengthened. The dedication of Federal Hill near Bardstown as "My Old Kentucky Home," on July 4, 1923, had the effect of bringing forth a fresh flood of imaginary details. Pictures were published of articles of royal gift from Louis Philippe to the old Cathedral of St. Joseph at Bardstown, and to private persons he never saw or heard of. The latter it is useless to discuss. The splendid gifts he is said to have bestowed upon the Cathedral deserve attention. These may be catalogued as follows:

1. The bell, now in the tower, placed there in 1821. Many years ago it cracked and was recast in Louisville from the same metal, but the recasting proved a failure and it was again removed from the tower and recast successfully elsewhere. When first recast an inscription (not there originally) was carried upon it to the effect that it was the gift of Louis Philippe. Those responsible for the inscription were wholly sincere.

2. A remarkable mechanical clock which was first placed in the facade of the church and rang the hours upon two exquisitely toned bells. It was repaired seventy-five years ago by a historical Trappist lay brother, Felix Cachot.

3. A collection of very beautiful and carefully preserved oil paintings and altar pieces in the church, which attract the admiration and curiosity of all visitors possessing some knowledge of art. Several of the original number were long ago transferred to the Louisville Cathedral of the Assumption.

4. Some very fine and costly vestments for use on grand occasions in the church. One of these is said to have been embroidered for Bishop Flaget by Louis Philippe's queen and her ladies, and to have contained originally the royal monogram in gold thread. The monogram, it is now said, was ordered picked out by the old bishop with the remark that this was a democratic country and the marks of royalty would be out of place upon vestments in its churches.

These are the outstanding gifts credited to Louis Philippe, the flowery yarn of whose beneficences has flowed through countless columns of newspapers in recent years. If it can be proved that he did not give them to the Cathedral, but that on the other hand the origin otherwise of every one of them is historically known and long ago recorded, the whole myth falls.

Beginning with the great bell in the tower the story is quite simple. The two first great sacrificing missionary priests in Kentucky were Steven Theodore Badin, of Orleans, France, who came here in 1791 at the age of 23, and Charles Nerinckx, of Flanders, who arrived in 1804 at the age of 43. These two literally almost alone "held the fort" for Catholicism in the wilderness until Bishop Flaget arrived in 1810. They built all the early churches, of logs, or lumber, or brick. Exposed to wild animals, the elements, often to starvation, these two indomitable and fearless men traveled the State on horseback, or afoot, organizing and serving Catholics, with the sacraments of the church. All that time Father Nerinckx had the vision of a Diocese of Bardstown and a Cathedral Church there. Being under the ban of the Government of Belgium as a revolutionary, he dared not return to his native land, but to his family and friends there he was perpetually writing letters asking for altar and church articles and many were sent to him. In 1815, when Napoleon's power was overthrown, Bishop Flaget sent Father Nerinckx to Belgium to seek aid for the diocese and the cathedral then building. Bishop Maes of Detroit, who in 1880 wrote a life of Father Nerinckx from his journals, letters and papers, says of the year 1818: "The cathedral church (at Bardstown) was also presented with the beautiful bell of the abbey of Ninove, cast by Mr. Sacre of Alost and bought in Ninove by Father Nerinckx."

At that time the churches in Belgium were under interdict, many had been wrecked and sacked, and their relics were cheaply purchasable. This bell of Ninove was not, however, the bell that went into the cathedral tower; or if it did go there, it remained but a year or two, as we shall see.

Between 1820-23 both Father Badin and Father G. A. Chabrat (the latter afterwards Bishop Coadjutor of Bardstown) were in France on a visit home. They sought aid for the church. They corresponded. On February 7, 1821, Father Badin wrote to Father Chabrat from Paris:

"I advise you to take the bell promised by your friend at Lyons [an offer of which Father Chabrat had evidently advised him], provided there should not be too great expenditure of cash, which is the thing most needed for the cathedral."

Later Father Badin received news of that bell, for he wrote to Father Chabrat under date Paris, September 5, 1823:

"It appears to me you have grown fond of noise since you bought the gros bourdon (the big bell) for the cathedral. Let me tell you that the sound of that bell is echoed even here in Paris where I

lately saw Mr. Rousand. He tells me you have paid dearly for it, on account of the carriage from Lyons to Bordeaux. I am mistaken in saying you have paid. It appears probable enough that it will fall to my lot to discharge that debt or a part of it. Well, it will be no hardship but a pleasure to me."

Bishop Spalding in his life of Bishop Flaget says of this very bell:

"M. Chabrat returned to Bardstown from Europe July 18, 1821, bringing with him the bell, weighing about 1,300 pounds, destined for the cathedral."

Now, to prove conclusively that this is the very bell which Father Chabrat bought in Lyons, Ben. J. Webb in his "History of Catholicity in Kentucky" adds this affectionate footnote to the first letter of Father Badin just quoted:

"The identical bell referred to has been swinging for sixty years in the tower of the former cathedral at Bardstown, sounding its admonition to prayer, knolling over the dead, and keeping count of the fleeting hours. Times numberless when a boy I climbed with tireless feet the long flights of stairs that led to its home in the tower, where, as it appeared to me, it kept watch and ward over the town beneath, and miles on miles of surrounding country. It is fifty years since I saw it last, but the shapely contour and, above all, its melodious sound are as present to my fancy today as they were then to my faculties of sight and hearing. Around its surface and preceding the date 'Lyons 1821' and the holy names 'Jesu . . . Maria' appears the sentence from Holy Writ: 'Audite verbum Domini, omnes gentes, et annuntiate in insulis quae procul sunt.' The impression has been general, as well among the clergy as the laity, that this bell was a gift to Bishop Flaget from Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, afterwards King of France, who desired thus to acknowledge his sense of obligation for courtesies extended to him by that prelate when he was an exile in the island of Cuba."

That footnote is of most peculiar value. Mr. Webb was born in Bardstown, came of an old Catholic family and was, during his whole life, deeply devoted to the church. It was in his father's house that mass for Bardstown Catholics was celebrated every Sunday before the cathedral was built. Mass was said in the parlor by Bishop Flaget and Fathers Nerineckx and Badin. Moreover, Mr. Webb was born in 1813, was 6 years old when the cathedral was consecrated and 8 when the bell was hung in the steeple. His memory in age turned back and clung tenaciously to the details of his boyhood days, as always it does with those who leave the little towns of their nativity. He was

educated at St. Joseph's College, was the leading Catholic publisher of the early West, and a conscientious, painstaking historian. His book, published in 1884, must have required years of preparation. His reference to the bell and sixty years of its personal identification was written about 1881. If another bell at any time had been substituted he would have known. Yet nowhere does he, or any other authoritative writer, use the name of Louis Philippe in connection with it, except in this instance, where he specifically but gently corrects the false impression of the King's beneficence, and shows that the bell came through Father Chabrat from Lyons.

The story of the mechanical clock is more briefly told. In the year 1821 Father Nerinckx, just back from Belgium, whither he had made a second trip, wrote a general letter of thanks to all his friends there who had aided him with contributions for his wilderness cathedral. Bishop Maes quotes from that letter in the biography of Father Nerinckx as follows:

"I might also have told you how they managed to build the steeple of the Bardstown Cathedral. The funds were exhausted, but the architect, who gave proof of the most ardent zeal for the completion of his work, bethought himself of a new plan to raise the necessary funds. The clock which I brought from Ninove in Flanders, and which is a truly wonderful timepiece, suggested to him the means of exciting the people to renewed exertions. He placed it in the front wall of the church, the two little silvertined bells striking the hours. The people acknowledged that so beautiful a clock should adorn a steeple and they consented to a subscription which realized enough to complete the work."

To this may be added the fact that Bishop Flaget in a letter to Bishop England of South Carolina in 1820 says of Father Nerinckx:

"He made two journeys to Europe and the valuables which he procured there exceeded the amount of \$15,000. This aid was principally drawn from religious Flanders."

Father Nerinckx did not go to France. He got contributions from England and Holland, and records them with gratitude; but there is no mention of Louis Philippe. There was in France no liberality toward the Western Church. Writing from Orleans, July 21, 1820, Father Badin says: "We have reason to believe that the Bishop of this place will encourage a collection for Kentucky; but he has observed to me again that this is an unpropitious season, because of the preceding collections and because the gentlemen and ladies of wealth and piety are now a la campagne." A month later he scores the niggardliness of the contributions thus: "I am much disgusted to

see much parade made in the newspapers of trivial donations or aims, which Americans would be ashamed to offer in similar circumstances."

All the paintings in the old Cathedral, including those later transferred to the Cathedral of the Assumption in Louisville, are to be credited directly to the loving prevision of Father Nerinckx. Bishop Maes writing about Father Nerinckx's first visit to Belgium, his old home, in 1817-17, says:

"About a hundred paintings which he had purchased had not reached Kentucky at the end of 1818. Among these were several valuable works of art, two of which he presented to the Cathedral of Bardstown; a Crucifixion and a scene of St. Bernard's life, a masterpiece which now hangs over the altar of St. Joseph in the Cathedral of Louisville, and which he is said to have purchased from among the wrecks of a church that had been recently sacked by the French. This painting represents St. Bernard with the Sacred Host in his hand giving a solemn reproof to William Aquitaine for his schismatical and licentious conduct. Both these valuable treasures were removed to Louisville on the transfer of the Episcopal See to that city in 1841."

The paragraph is a summary made from Father Nerinckx's journals and letters which the biographer had before him.

It is an error to include the "Crucifixion" as among the paintings transferred. It is still in the Bardstown collection. The pioneer priest had his Sisterhood of Loretto and the Cathedral as the apples of his eye. He gave them the best he had, the rest went to other churches he had built. His journal as early as 1808 noted the receipt of paintings, clocks, bells and other church property sent to him by friends in Belgium. He was an inspired beggar for the glory of God.

In 1821 Father Badin writing from Paris says:

"I have packed several trunks at Orleans where I bought forty tableaux d'autel, (altar pictures), an organ," etc. He was writing to Father Chabrat and both had sought Cathedral necessities and adornments in the impoverished provinces of France. Bishop Maes, as did the editor of Father Badin's papers and letters, passed over the minute details of these numerous paintings, but if the lists are still in existence there is little doubt that the origin of every one of the valuable paintings in the old Catholic churches of the State may be established by them. The article on Father Nerinckx in the Catholic Encyclopedia says: "He brought to America a number of paintings which are to this day the most valuable art treasures of the diocese of Louisville."

The record of the vestments is not, for obvious reasons, as definite and full as those of the bell, the clock and the paintings. Identity in such articles is difficult to establish. But Father Nerinckx was no less the almoner of these than of the others. Writing of his first visit to Belgium, before the Cathedral was consecrated, Bishop Maes says:

"The richest and most complete set of vestments, including five copes of the finest material, was bought from a collegiate church in Brussels at a very high figure. Father Nerinckx donated it to the Cathedral church at Bardstown, and Bishop Flaget used it for the first time at the Pontifical High Mass of Easter Sunday [this was 1818 and the cathedral was under way] in the chapel of St. Thomas' Seminary."

Father Nerinckx, Father Badin and Father Chabrat, all, sought fine vestments sacked from the churches in Belgium and France. Their letters teem with mentions of them, without particular description, but with adjectives indicating their beauty and costliness.

If Louis Philippe had contributed any containing his monogram in gold thread it is inconceivable that the good Bishop Flaget would have had the monogram deleted. The bishop was sympathetic, devoid of all demagoguery, and he would probably have decided, if called upon, that the monogram as a mark of the donor's gratitude would shine beautifully in the sight of God. Besides, the cope itself would be as much the mark of royalty as the monogram. Bishop Flaget was no timid hypocrite. His whole life ranked him in noble humility, courage and true piety, high among the vicars of Christ in all the churches of Christendom.

Concluding now these records of the priceless relics this must be said: That the late Father C. J. O'Connell, who was forty years pastor of old St. Joseph's Cathedral—from 1880 to 1920—came to it a young priest of twenty-six. He found there among his old parishioners men and women who firmly believed the fable of Louis Philippe. Father O'Connell had been educated at Louvain University, where he was thrown into intimate relations with and nursed through typhoid fever Father Damien, the famous missionary to the leper colony of Molokai, so vividly biographed by Robert Louis Stevenson. Father O'Connell was young, ardent, tireless and deeply sincere. He was no historian. It never occurred to him to doubt the genuineness of the legends that were in the very air he breathed. He was the worthy successor of those early pioneer priests who had built the Cathedral. He appreciated the historic value and beauty of the structure and the contents committed to his custody. It is entirely due to his unremitting, devoted labors that the old cathedral was rescued from

decay in its perishable parts; that all its relics were restored to proper condition, and that the edifice, clothed in simple splendor, now stands, one of the most beautiful and interesting in the whole country. He it was who had the bell recast with the false inscription. But it was not false to him. Nobody could doubt his sincerity. He was merely one even among the clergy who, as the historian Webb remarked, had accepted the impression of the fable as true. On one occasion when visiting Father O'Connell I asked him in curiosity if there were in his church records or in any public or private archives in Bardstown, any entries to show that Louis Philippe had resided there or made the gifts attributed to him. He frankly answered "No." He was a holy and devoted man, but he had neither the time nor the stomach for the laborious work of historical research. And so he believed and went to his grave believing the legend.

There is nowhere in all early Catholic history, biography, memoir, letters or journals any mention that I have been able to find of Louis Philippe's "residence" there, or of any gift, whatsoever, made by him to the church. In the comprehensive Catholic Encyclopedia no article remotely concerning the diocese of Bardstown, or its successor, mentions his name. He is not even entered, biographically, in that work, as all other monarchs are who served the Catholic Church in faith or gifts. It is unbelievable that this would be so if the popular fable were approximately true. There is nowhere, in any other historical publication that I have been able to find, even any incidental mention before 1874 of this legend.

There is somewhat of genuine pathos in the neglect of those devoted and modest early priests, whose self-sacrifices planted the Catholic Church in Kentucky and clothed its altars in beauty. There is amusement, however, in the grotesque selection of Louis Philippe as a prince bountiful. There is curious interest in the beginnings of the slight affiliation of his legend with local history. True, he was, when he passed meteorically through Kentucky in 1797, a handsome young prince apparently in distress. Then he became a King. Human nature, contemplating the conventional glory of kings, always has yearned to associate with their heritage of power the qualities of beneficence, gratitude and princely justice. But it is one of the particular ironies of fate that Louis Philippe, of all the princes of Europe of the last century, should be selected as having been grateful and generous. The literature of his life is not so voluminous that it may not easily be read. The impression left upon the student of it is that of a man clever, witty, indefatigably ambitious, meanly avari-

cious, shift, cynical and insincere. As king he took all those qualities into the glare of the throne.

Frugality, even parsimony, are ingrained characteristics of the French people, easily accounted for by their medieval history. But Louis Philippe achieved a reputation for grasping avarice so excessive that it outraged even the parsimony of his people—certainly an ignoble eminence for a king. It finally cost him his throne. All this is formal and open history. For our purpose we need examine only the record of his stay of fifteen months in America.

After fleeing from France in 1793 to escape the Terror which he and his father, the notorious Egalite, had helped to bring on, he busied himself under assumed names trying to organize all Europe against his late friends of the French Directory. It has been said that it was Napoleon in command of the republican army in the Austrian campaign of 1796, who sensed the danger of Louis Philippe's activities against the Government of France and recommended that he be "bought off." Whether it was Napoleon's penetration or not, the Directory at Paris offered to restore to the Duchess of Orleans, mother of the prince, part of her properties if she would guarantee that Louis Philippe, with his younger brothers, would go to America, stay there and cease his plottings. This was readily agreed to, but owing to war conditions the prince could not get to his mother, then in Spain. In the emergency Gouverneur Morris, United States Minister to France, was appealed to and advanced a loan of £15,000 (300,000 francs) direct to Louis Philippe's credit in London, and this was generously increased when the two brothers joined him in Philadelphia. Mrs. Parker goes into this transaction, writing with unconcealed friendliness to Louis Philippe. She says the prince drew sparingly upon this generous treasure, "repaying every dollar in good time." Their expenditure for four years, she points out, including the American tour, did not exceed £13,000. Their account book, in which every item of expense was entered, Louis Philippe proudly exhibited to American guests at Versailles after he became King. Here, forgetting the statement that the loan "was repaid in good time," Mrs. Parker says: "These loans remained unpaid for a long time, but were at length fully reimbursed with interest." Gouverneur Morris died in 1816 and Louis Philippe became King in 1830. It is a good guess that the French nation repaid the money to the Morris estate.

At New Orleans, in 1798, our Prince was hospitably entertained by the aristocratic Bernard de Marigny, who advanced him money freely. Years passed and he heard no rumor of repayment. When

Louis Philippe was made, King M. de Marigny, now grown old, with his fortune depleted, took his son, a young cadet, and went to France to get his money. He was received with much politeness and entertained at the palace for some weeks. But every time he mentioned money this rich King grew cold, pleaded poverty and changed the subject. Though Greek was dealing with Greek, the best M. de Marigny could do was to leave his son in France to be educated at the military college of St. Cyr, at the expense of the French nation, with the promise of the King personally to see to his promotion in the army. When the young cadet's education was completed he got the regular lieutenancy, was sent off to provincial barracks, received no promotion and resigned to come home with all the royal promises unfulfilled.

Louis Philippe was always ostensibly in financial straits in America, notwithstanding the famous account book. In Philadelphia, dazzled by the prospects of dollars as against francs, he sought to marry Miss Willing, the daughter of a rich banker, but her father coldly forbade the alliance, telling the young prince: "If you are penniless you are not a suitable match for my daughter. If you should come to the throne my daughter would not be a suitable match for you." With more than £15,000 when he arrived in 1796, he yet claimed to be destitute in the summer of 1797. Thomas Morris loaned him money to get to Philadelphia from Northern New York. When he arrived there he was "broke" again and said he must await a remittance from his mother. Significant is this item of the record there: "Their one servant, Baudoin, did the work of the house and was valet besides. He used to get the better of the market women, it was said, in his close management of household expenses." Baudoin evidently knew his business and his master's.

They accepted hospitality of everybody, everywhere, even of Talleyrand, who was in New York in exile. He advised him to visit New England. There is no record of any money borrowed there. Did Talleyrand, who knew his prince well, warn his Eastern friends?

At Havana in 1798 the French residents contributed a purse of 14,000 francs for the royal hardups, and the young French priest, Benedict Joseph Flaget, destined to be Bishop of Bardstown twelve years later, was asked to make the presentation, which he did with most agreeable tact. Louis Philippe would have received it as readily without the tact. He refused nothing that was valuable; he gave nothing that was valuable. He had no sense of gratitude and none of loyalty but himself. Talleyrand was polite and useful to him in this country, and when he became King served him well as Am-

bassador to England. Yet when the news was brought to him of Talleyrand's death, his mordant and cynical wit expressed itself in the question to his guests at dinner: "Now, what interest could he have had in dying at this time?"

This was the prince who has been elevated into something like a patron saint here in Kentucky by those who believed he was deeply moved by a feeling of gratitude toward Bishop Flaget. First, for affording him protection during a residence at Bardstown, where he never resided, and, second, for the presentation of the purse at Havana. Curiously enough, it seems clear, the whole myth arose out of the incident of the purse. Its origin is quite simple and its growth clearly traced in its recorded history. It is a remarkable example of how fine irony and playful humor are often taken seriously and disastrously.

For several years before 1844 Dr. Martin John Spalding, the distinguished Catholic scholar, subsequently Archbishop of Baltimore, was pastor of the cathedral at Bardstown. He wrote the fine volume called "Sketches of Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky." He was much younger than Bishop Flaget and Fathers Badin and Nerinckx, but he knew them all personally. The Bishop recognized his great promise and adopted his future. That volume contains the first brief sketch of Bishop Flaget's life written from first hand information. Coming to the Bishop's short stay as a tutor-priest in Havana in 1798 the book says:

"While there he became acquainted with the present King of the French, who was then a fugitive from his country and in great distress. The people of Havana made up a considerable sum of money and appointed M. Flaget to hand over the amount to the illustrious exile."

That was all—the record of an incidental polite service rendered. In 1848 Dr. Spalding had been raised to Bishop Coadjutor of Kentucky and was living in Louisville with Bishop Flaget, then in his 83d year, in the intimate relation of spiritual son to father. After the Bishop's death in 1850, having access to all his journals and papers, Bishop Spalding, out of gratitude and appreciation, wrote the full and valuable "Life of Bishop Flaget," published in 1852 by B. J. Webb and Bro., Louisville. In that volume he restated the Havana incident, enlarging it slightly. Its close reads thus:

"The inhabitants, sympathizing with their [Louis Philippe and his brothers'] misfortunes, made up a large sum of money and appointed M. Flaget to present it in their name to the illustrious exiles. This office was most grateful to his feelings and he discharged it with

his usual tact and grace. This act was remembered long afterward when Louis Philippe was King of the French and he Bishop of Bardstown."

No intimation there how it was remembered, or, in fact, who remembered it; but there is a natural implication to the unguarded reader that Louis Philippe remembered it with the gratitude of a prince. Such was evidently the impression it made long afterwards upon the author of the monumental "Catholicity in Kentucky," who connected it with the popular fable that Louis Philippe had resided and taught school in Bardstown. That fable had begun to link together the bell, the clock, the pictures and the vestments with the "residence." A generation had grown up that knew not Badin and Nerineckx, nor their works. Writing, then, thirty years later, Mr. Webb adopted Bishop Spalding's account of the Havana incident, but gave it in paraphrase thus:

"The service required of him [Bishop Flaget] was performed with so much tact and discretion, and so feelingly withal, that it secured to him the lasting friendship of the exiled princes. This was afterwards evidenced in a tangible manner when the elder of the princes became king of France and the spokesman of the almoners was bishop of Bardstown."

The historian there was walking a tight rope. He knew personally, and has recorded, where the cathedral bell came from; he did not know of anything else that Louis Philippe had given, but, accepting the implication from Dr. Spalding's passage and yielding somewhat for caution to the popular fable, he contented himself with recording "lasting friendship" and "tangible evidence" as the Prince's grateful return. It is in these words "lasting friendship" and "tangible" alone, that the fable has the semblance of a historical hook to hang upon.

Further on in his life of Bishop Flaget, however, Bishop Spalding gives the true solution of his own phrase, "this act was remembered long afterward when Louis Philippe was King of the French." It is in the account of Bishop Flaget's visit to Europe and especially to Rome (1835-39) after Louis Philippe had attained the throne. Returning from Rome to Paris, one of the Bishop's stops is thus recorded:

"At Vienna he had an audience with the Emperor and dined with Metternich. He also visited the illustrious exile, Charles X, ex-King of France, and, though unwilling to interfere in the politics of Europe, he yet yielded cheerfully to the pious wishes of the family

and invoked a blessing on the head of the young heir to the French throne."

Charles X was of the legitimate branch and the revolution of 1830 had overthrown him and brought Louis Philippe to his place. The paragraph just quoted called out this restrained playful footnote by Bishop Spalding:

"We have often been amused at hearing him [Bishop Flaget] relate the coldness with which he was treated by the court of Louis Philippe on his return to Paris. At his previous visit the King of the French had shown him every polite attention; at the last he was entirely unnoticed and invited to no audience."

This is the first information we have that he had called on the King on his way to Rome. There are two implications to be drawn from the footnote. One, serious, that Louis Philippe resented the religious blessing of this legitimate boy claimant to the throne he himself was then occupying. The other is of light, playful fun at the expense of Louis Philippe's well known parsimony. The author does not intimate that the Bishop received anything more from this "King of the French" than "every polite attention." That was exactly what Bernard de Marigny of New Orleans got for the money due him—politeness; no cash. It is not to be believed that so gentle, mild and saintly a prelate as Bishop Flaget would have spoken lightly of a prince who had gratefully rewarded his church. Rather would he be gravely concerned if a stone of resentment had fallen into the smooth current of friendship through any political slip of his, involving the influence of his church in Europe. If he had received no gifts, he properly might exhibit playful humor.

We may go ever further. Louis Philippe, strictly speaking, owed no gratitude to Bishop Flaget that polite attentions would not fully repay. It does not appear that the Bishop had anything to do with the raising of the purse in Havana, or even contributed to it. As he happened to be the only French priest there at the time he was asked to present it. No Spanish priest would dare do it. Yet the service could be amply repaid by polite thanks between gentlemen.

Now, it has been shown that Mr. Webb's use of the simple word "tangible" is the only historical basis for the fable that Louis Philippe gave presents to the Bardstown Cathedral. There is but one other possible but missing fragment of evidence which might connect him with any act of largesse to this diocese. Years ago, before I had any thought of writing upon this subject, I am quite sure I read in some book of memoir a letter from some Catholic clergyman of Kentucky who had called upon a French King to plead the poverty of his

church in the West and ask for his help. The King listened politely and then informed the petitioner that he would arrange an interview for the next day with the Queen and her ladies. The priest duly returned and was introduced to the royal circle of ladies who promised to contribute 20,000 francs (\$4,000). Whether the king was Louis XVIII, Charles X, or Louis Philippe I cannot recall, but the Catholic Church here was in desperate need during all three of those reigns. I cannot remember the book and have sought patiently in many volumes for that letter. I am inclined to the belief that it was Louis Philippe, and that the petitioner was Bishop Flaget. If that be the fact, it is still to be noted that it was the pious women of his family who gave the sum in question. Depend upon it that Louis Philippe himself provided none of it. If, as was done in the case of Bernard de Marigny, he could have charged the expense to the French nation he might have consented, but as the next best thing he let his women pay it out of their own funds.

Bishop Flaget is credited in the Vatican archives with several certified miracles through faith, but the very great one of getting anything out of the pockets of Louis Philippe is not among them.

* * *

After the deed comes the apologia. It may be asked what is to be gained by destroying a legend containing suggestions of some beauty, which has grown up about forgotten men and living things and served to keep alive contact with long past days? The highest ideal, often buried under expediency, is that Truth is more beautiful than all her alluring sisters of Falsehood. If this be not true, why strive for sincerity and the facts of life?

No mere fancies, no disagreements about the origin of the relics at old St. Joseph's can possibly affect their inherent value and beauty, or disturb the glory of their sacramental dedication in the hearts of those who shall understandingly see them.

The tendency here in America to import and accept glamorous romantic color of Old World royalty clinging to relics which generations of us have come to venerate, is perfectly natural. One must be an inbred and incorrigible democrat, indeed, lightly to scorn the gilding of great titles, or the thing which royalty of blood or genius has actually touched with its own hands. But in the instance before us it has gone to the extreme, where an ignoble hand intrudes—where the empty fable threatens to obscure a glamor of our own history which should be infinitely more beautiful to us, and is, moreover, unquestionably true.

A splendid but almost forgotten human glory of the pioneer Catholic Church of Kentucky hides behind those beautiful pictures in the old Cathedral at Bardstown; the voices of real martyrs to faith ring out yet from the old bell of Lyons in its tower; memories of association dwell like the fumes of incense in the folds of those old vestments, in which the early missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church celebrated Holy Mass in the dawning days. Instead of the cynical face of Louis Philippe behind these relics, there are to be perceived through the crystal of history the humble and almost saintly countenances of three missionary priests who lived and labored and loved God in His vineyard, which they planted here in the wilderness, and who died with no hope of reward this side of the heaven to which they sought nobly to lead others.

The histories of these men have been written, it is true, but only fragmentarily, or in that guise of the spiritual interest overwhelming the material with which priests write the history of other priests. Lives thus written are lost among those who write them. They never pass on out into the great body of the laity to infuse the mass with admiration and respect for the same heroic courage, the same noble humility and the same human self-sacrifices which they must and do make in serving their Lord as worldly heroes must make who serve their King or their State. There can be found no finer chapter in the pioneer history of Kentucky yet to be written than that in which Father Badin, Father Nerinckx and Bishop Flaget will appear as the makers and molders of spiritual and material civilization in the wilderness. Badin was as doughty a pioneer as Boone; Nerinckx was as indomitable as George Rogers Clark. Nothing dismayed them; not even the fear that they might not live long enough to serve God as they sought. They fought valiantly even while they feared. There is no more stirring subject for the competent historian than the story of their personal adventures in the wilds of early Kentucky and Indiana. Behind and supporting them both blazed the serene spiritual light and enthusiasm of Bishop Flaget, who not only left his impress upon Kentucky but came to be regarded in Europe as almost an apostolic saint. When he went to Rome even a Pope hung upon his blessing, and three years of his crusade throughout France, then almost dead to religion, set the fires of faith alight again and great crowds followed to hear his message as once men followed about the shores of Galilee.

These are the splendid adventurers of faith who found Kentucky a stony field and after a deathless struggle left it a rose garden blooming in beauty and happiness. Their works still remain for all

of us to enjoy, whether we are of their faith or another. Bishop Flaget lies under the altar of his second cathedral in Louisville; Father Nerinckx under a lonely stone among his Sisterhood of Loretto. Father Badin, who, like Boone, found a margarita exaluminata concealed here in the wilds, lies, alas! in a strange field outside the garden he planted and nourished with his very blood. Is there not in this glorious epic of devotion and achievement something of great beauty, far outshining the tinselled fiction of a prince who gave nothing and reaped a spurious fame? It has been said that "The Pyramids, dotting with age, have forgotten the names of their founders." Shall we, who have eaten of the garden and drunken of the wine of sacrificial sweat of our heroic pioneers, forget their names in the dotting age of the prosperity they left us?

THE END

POSTSCRIPT TO THE LOUIS PHILIPPE LEGEND

Since the foregoing paper was read before the Filson Club November 5, 1923, there have been numerous publications and considerable correspondence concerning it. In every instance the only challenges of the accuracy of the paper have been as to those parts of the legend which attributed to the generosity and gratitude of Louis Philippe many valuable beautiful gifts to the old Cathedral. Nobody has appeared to support the original romance that he resided for several years and taught school at Bardstown. That foundation part of the whole legend is so easily upset by chronology that, despite its persistence for a century, it has been surrendered without protest.

As to the gifts he is alleged to have presented, the means of identifying them in order that definite proof of their existence and origin may be sought, is so tenuous and uncertain that they present a problem of more difficulty to the historian who may be in search of facts instead of popular fancies. Let it be said here the friendly discussion has thus far produced nothing of authoritative historical proof to alter the conclusions of the original paper. If Louis Philippe presented any gifts to the old Cathedral the proof of it rests upon the same basis of early gossip and legend as that of his residence at Bardstown in exile. The records of the church, the personal letters, journals and diaries of the clergy and laity living at the time, and who would have known, contain no entry referring to any such gifts, though they are filled with precise mentions of other gifts from less interesting sources.

For the light thrown upon the subject it is desirable, however, to consider the supposed facts and arguments that have been brought forward to support the legend of the gifts. Some of these question the accuracy of several statements in the original paper. It is proper to receive and make correction of such details even though they do not at all affect the accuracy of the main fact set forth.

For instance, we are informed that there is no inscription at present on the bell in St. Joseph's tower at Bardstown recording that it was a gift from Louis Philippe. Granted. Yet such an inscription was put there when it was first recast in Louisville in 1887. There is in my possession a photo-engraving of the bell taken at that time showing the inscription, as follows:

A. D. 1821
Louis Philippe,
King of the French,
Gave to St. Joseph's Church,
Bardstown, Ky.,
This Bell,
Which Broke
And was Recast
A. D. 1887,
By Kaye & Co., Louisville, Ky.

Personally I have never climbed the tower to see the bell, but have read the inscription often in published articles concerning that beautiful and historic church. Others, therefore, had seen the bell with the inscription. It was natural to assume that the inscription was repeated when the bell was recast the second time. It would seem, however, that Father O'Connell, who directed both recasts, suspected or was informed of his error, and so had the lines omitted on the second recast. I was corrected also in that the second recast was made in Cincinnati and not in Philadelphia. Granted. But that fact has no value whatever as proof of the bell's origin.

It was a decided surprise, however, when there was produced a quotation from Spalding's "Sketches of Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky" (1844), as follows:

"The Cathedral was also provided with rich suits of vestments, golden candlesticks, a golden tabernacle and other splendid ornaments, presented to the Bishop by the present King and Queen of the French."

The surprise was two-fold: First, that I had never before observed the entry; second, to note that when Bishop Spalding came to recast his first fragmentary sketch of 1844 into the full "Life of Bishop

Flaget" in 1852 (as Father O'Connell later came to recast the bell a second time) he omitted the passage about the gifts as Father O'Connell omitted the inscription from the bell. The reason is not far to seek. The legend of Louis Philippe's "residence" in Bardstown had grown from two days' actual stay in 1797 to two periods of residence covering about four years. Mathematically that is an expansion of two days by exactly 73,000 per cent, which may not be extreme for legends or rumors. But reasons for the "residence" had to be furnished. So they were supplied in the form of his gratitude and affection for Bishop Flaget for his supposed protection. Tangible expressions of that fancied gratitude and affection would naturally be expected. They were promptly furnished in "gifts." It is idle to seek the origin of such legends. There was no fraud. There was no reason for fraud. Legends start in the air and, like orchids, subsist upon it.

But that Bishop Spalding's omission of the "splendid gifts" from the full "Life" of Bishop Flaget was deliberate and intentional is shown by reading the later paragraph of 1852. He expanded the meeting with Louis Philippe in Havana from five lines in the "Sketches" to double the space in the "Life." He adds the presence of Louis Philippe's two brothers, a matter of no importance. He explains the paragraph in two foot notes. All this shows that his mind was alert to all the facts and implications arising from the chance meeting. One of the foot notes relates to the causes of Louis Philippe's expulsion from Cuba, the other to a probable error in the Bishop's journal concerning the amount of money contributed for the exiles. But to the statement that the Bishop's act of courtesy "was remembered long afterward" there is no foot note explaining how it was remembered or by whom. Yet that was exactly the place to record in text or by footnote that it was remembered by splendid gifts of pictures, vestments and golden furniture for the Bishop's cathedral. If the courtesy was worth careful recording so, certainly, was its reciprocation, if there was any.

There is another significant alteration. It should be noted that he says Bishop Flaget's act "was remembered long afterward when Louis Philippe was King of the French and he [Bishop Flaget] Bishop of Bardstown." Louis Philippe became King in 1830; the last of the gifts credited to him by the legend was in 1827. If any came after 1830 I know of no reference to them. But the subsequent mention of Louis Philippe in the "Life" suggests sharply that Bishop Spalding was with gentle sarcasm referring to Louis Philippe's empty

“polite attentions” in 1835 and his cold rebuff of Bishop Flaget on a letter occasion.

Moreover, when in the “Life” he comes to describe the building of the cathedral at Bardstown, he mentions Father Nerinckx’s gifts of “superb paintings,” Father Chabrat’s of the bell, and the generosity of contributions, but not a word is said of the alleged gifts of the French King. The omission is again apparently by deliberate intention, since that was eminently another place for their mention.

It may be said here that Bishop Spalding is such high authority upon the early history of the Catholic Church in Kentucky that, if I had observed at the outset his first statement crediting the gifts to Louis Philippe and his Queen, I, too, should probably have accepted it with as much finality as some others do. But since there is no authority so high that its sources may not be examined to determine accuracy or error, and the opportunities of the witness to know the facts, it is permissible to dissect this.

Bishop Spalding was not born at Bardstown. He went there first as a boy of sixteen in 1826 to attend St. Joseph’s College. At that time Bishop Flaget was sixty-four years of age, about forty-eight years older than the young student. The qualities of the student were so promising that the Bishop in 1830 sent him to Rome where his education was completed and he was ordained. He returned to Bardstown in the late Fall of 1834 bringing so much promise of his great subsequent career that the Bishop, then seventy-two, appointed him at the age of 24 pastor of the Cathedral. Their ages are significant factors to show that up to this time there was little possible intimacy between the venerable prelate and the young priest. The latter was really the chosen protege of Father Kenrick, one of the faculty of St. Joseph’s College, afterwards Bishop of Philadelphia. Early the next Spring, in 1835, after Father Spalding’s return, and after a winter of preparation for absence, Bishop Flaget went to Europe, whence he did not return until 1839 to plunge at once into his arrearages of diocesan visits, from the lakes to the Alabama line. He was then seventy-seven years old, growing physically weak, and travel was trying. There was no intimate contact thus far between him and Father Spalding.

In the meantime, during his absence in Europe, the Bishop in 1837 transferred the young priest from Bardstown to the pastorate of St. Peter’s in Lexington where he remained until 1838 and was then recalled to Bardstown to the presidency of St. Joseph’s College. There he remained for two years. Then in 1841, when, to the deep disappointment of the Bardstown congregation, the See was removed

to Louisville, Bishop Flaget appointed Father Spalding again to the pastorate of St. Joseph's, relying upon his popularity and strong personal influence to ameliorate the dissatisfaction. He succeeded largely, and there he remained until 1844. There was little of contact to that date.

From his return to Bardstown from Rome in 1834 until his death as Archbishop of Baltimore, Father Spalding was an indefatigable writer. He began his "Sketches" before 1840. Ben J. Webb, his publisher, says they were written and compiled "for the most part as early as 1839." This is evident because in the published book there is a foot note appended to the crediting of the gifts to Louis Philippe, saying:

"These, too [the gifts], were removed to Louisville on the translation of the episcopal See to that city."

The See was transferred in 1841, so that the foot note was obviously written after that date. The preface to the "Sketches" was dated "Bardstown, Kentucky, Corpus Christi, 1844," which would go to prove that the book was conceived, written, and finally published between 1838 and 1844. It was scarcely begun before 1837, since he gives to Father Badin almost sole credit for the wealth of its information. Now, Father Badin went to France in 1819 and did not return to America until 1828, but was absent from Bardstown until 1837, a term of eighteen years. It was during his absence as well as that of Father Spalding (Rome 1830-1834) that the legend of Louis Philippe began to reach out and attach itself to the bell, clock, paintings, vestments, and other adornments of the Cathedral. Father Badin and Father Spalding both found it rooted there, accepted and unquestioned. Neither could have had personal knowledge.

Believers in both aspects of the legend will argue with plausibility that Father Spalding was there in 1827 when the gifts are said to have come. That is true. He was a boy of seventeen, Bishop Flaget was sixty-five. If the gifts came from Louis Philippe there is no record that Bishop Flaget ever made announcement of the fact, or told the young student. It is to be noted also that while the "Sketches" are dedicated to Bishop Flaget the author does not include him as a source of information, and specifically says that he had not known Father Nerinckx, who had died before he came to the Bardstown pastorate. He did know Father Chabrat, Bishop Coadjutor, who had much to do with gifts, but did not know him well until after 1844.

It was in 1844 that Father Spalding came into close contact with Bishop Flaget. He was then, in his thirty-fourth year, moved to Louisville to be vicar-general, and at once began his rapid and remarkable development. Bishop Flaget was at that date in his eighty-second year, practically in retirement, his coadjutor performing the active duties. He was to live five years longer, preparing himself with prayer for his approaching end, much in the ascetic solitude toward which he had always been inclined. He was consulted by his vicar-general for his wishes as often as necessary, we may believe, and in the few remaining years we may well assume there were hours of intimate converse between them. The Bishop found the vicar-general a strong staff of support and an intellectual delight.

Father Spalding was even then doubtless preparing to record the saint-like life fading out before his eyes. Then it was, if ever, he learned the exact truth as to the Bishop's relations with Louis Philippe. He has put the summary of that knowledge before us in the passages quoted in the preceding paper. He does not confirm the statement made eight years previously about the alleged gifts, but he describes the meetings, which were of less importance than the gifts would have been—if Louis Philippe made any gifts. His references are careful and tinged with obvious amusement.

It may be argued with some pertinence, perhaps, that if he did not specifically correct his original statement it is to stand as true. We may wish he had issued a second edition of the "Sketches," which would have had his personal revision. Alas! he did not. But those familiar with his earnestness and the precision with which he expressed himself will not doubt for an instant that in the "Life" he set forth the truth as he came to know it.

It is possible to insist that Father Spalding did not publish his "Sketches" without submitting the manuscript to the Bishop, which would assume the Bishop's confirmation of the alleged gifts. But submission was not necessary. The book was historical, not doctrinal, or controversial. There is no episcopal imprimatur upon the volume. It might have been printed (with its fine dedication to the Bishop) as a pleasant surprise. And it omits, as does every other record, any statement that the Bishop himself ever credited any gifts to Louis Philippe.

From this angle it is very enlightening now to examine this later book, the "Life, Times and Character of Bishop Flaget," of 1852 and see how it was prepared. In the preface the author, (then become Bishop Spalding) explains that his narrative is based upon the contents of thirty-four volumes of Bishop Flaget's journals (cover-

ing thirty-four years) and the examination of about 3,000 letters received by that prelate, some from "distinguished persons." There were also copies of his own letters to such persons. Amongst all these records it does not appear that the Bishop referred to any letter to or from Louis Philippe, or made any mention of him in the journals. He did record the receipt of large and small gifts, personal to himself and to the church, but none from Louis Philippe.

While abroad for instance (1835-1839) Bishop Flaget made interesting entries regarding his travels. He was born of humble country parentage, unaccustomed to great personages and worldly honors. When he returns to France he discovers that he has become famous through his American labors and achievements. His reaction to the change in his personal consequence is naive and beautiful. "I find myself," he writes at Avignon, "associating with Archbishops, Bishops, Mayors, Prefects, Marquises and Counts." He notes with deep humility the honors paid him by those in high places. He records his audience with the Austrian Emperor, his meeting with Charles X in exile, his dinner with Prince Metternich; his reception at Turin by King Charles Albert; his stay with the Count de Maistre, governor of Nice, and the overwhelming kindness and honors paid him by Pope Gregory XVI and the cardinals. The gifts made to him are mentioned. All this was as miracles in Hans Christian Andersen-land to that simple, saintly, peasant soul. But nowhere does Louis Philippe appear—the King of Benedict Flaget's own country—the one personage from whom honors and gifts would have descended with a significance especially dear to him. It is only in a casual footnote that Bishop Spalding records that Louis Philippe was first "polite" and then coldly inaccessible.

Take Bishop Spalding's own statement in the early sketch of 1844, that every one of the particular gifts ascribed to Louis Philippe and his Queen had been removed to the Cathedral church at Louisville. In 1852 he was himself bishop and the new Cathedral of the Assumption was his own creation, had become his own episcopal seat. If he knew those gifts were royal—from whomsoever they came—would he have omitted confirmation of the earlier statement? He repeats everything but that.

Through the efforts made to bring home to Louis Philippe the presentation of gifts we are furnished dates of mention earlier than that in the "Sketches." In 1832 the Hon. Charles A. Wicliffe, representing the Bardstown district, had an act passed by Congress remitting customs duties on a shipment of certain paintings, church furniture, etc., imported from France through the port of New Orleans

in 1827. In his speech urging its passage (1832) Mr. Wickliffe said they were presents from the former Duke of Orleans, "now the King of the French"—which would be Louis Philippe.

Mr. Wickliffe's speech is cited as proof of the origin of the gifts, whereas it is really proof only of the legend. Mr. Wickliffe was as earnest and sincere as Bishop Spalding and Father O'Connell. He was a loyal Presbyterian and he was absent much from Bardstown, as was Bishop Flaget—who then had a diocese of enormous territorial extent. The two probably had no intimate association, but an undoubted mutual respect. Mr. Wickliffe was quite as open to belief in the legend as were the Catholics themselves. Nowhere in his speech does he speak by authority, or quote Bishop Flaget, but merely asserts, apparently of his own motion in explanation, that these were presents from the "now King of the French" and that Bishop Flaget could not well decline them, yet ought to be relieved of the customs charges upon them. He, too, was not native to Bardstown but had moved into the atmosphere of the legend. It is certainly singular that nobody has anywhere quoted one word spoken by Bishop Flaget, or written in his numerous and voluminous diaries and letters, indicating that he had received any gift from Louis Philippe. Yet we all know that "gifts from Kings are ne'er forgot."

It is insisted by careless searchers that in the act of 1832, and in the petition asking remission of these duties, the gifts were declared to have come from Louis Philippe. That is an error. Two acts of remission to Bishop Flaget are in the printed acts of Congress; neither contains any mention of the senders of the gifts; nor have any petitions showing their source yet been discovered among original Congressional documents and papers. Mentions of Louis Philippe have invariably been injected by outsiders and appear purely as volunteer explanations. That is the only buttress of the legend—its popular belief extending even to outsiders.*

*As an example of this careless confusion of fact with explanation may be cited a letter upon the subject in hand, printed in the New York Catholic periodical "America", October 14, 1922. The writer of it recites in quotation marks the alleged title of the bill as being "an act which 'authorized the remission of the duties on certain paintings and church furniture presented by the King of the French to the Catholic Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky.' " He is evidently quoting from Gales and Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress of March 19, 1832. There, however, the lines quoted are enclosed in parentheses, plainly as explanation adopted from Mr. Wickliffe's casual reference to the King of the French in his speech. The Journal of the Senate when the bill was introduced, the report of the Ways and Means Committee recommending its enactment, and all references to it in various stages, give the correct title thus:

But in order to get to the bottom, if possible, of this transaction I have obtained from the Treasury Department at Washington photostatic facsimiles of the customhouse papers at New Orleans bearing upon this special shipment for which Mr. Wickliffe had the duties remitted. The articles passed through on the 27th day of October, 1827 in a consignment to Andrew Hodge, Jr., of New Orleans on the brig, "Union," from Marseilles. The articles of the consignment on which duties were remitted are described as "4 boxes pictures, etc.; 10 vol. books F, and 1 ditto [box] 4 holly boddies" [sic]. The total value of the manifest is \$4,653.75. That all this was not for Bishop Flaget is apparent. Mr. Hodge was then a commission merchant at No. 3 Magazine Street, New Orleans, and was doubtless importing on his own account. Note is made that all the duties had been "paid by Hodge, Jr." The official notation of the Collector of Customs made on the remittance of duty certificate shows that specific duties of 40 cents (or 4 cents each) on books, and ad valorem duties on \$31 value at 12½ per cent, and on \$937 value at 15 per cent were "to be repaid to Benedict Joseph Flaget per Act 31 of March, 1832." The total sum thus repaid was \$144.82, as attested by the original receipt of Bishop Flaget in 1834. This defines the appraised value of the gifts championed by Mr. Wickliffe.

So, then, if these were the gifts of paintings, rich vestments, golden candlesticks, a golden tabernacle and "other splendid ornaments," noted by Bishop Spalding as from "the King of the French and his Queen" in 1844, which note was suppressed in 1852—and which gifts, it seems confusedly, were attributed to the King of Sicily and Pope Leo XII—their combined value was \$968, exclusive of ten books. If Louis Philippe contributed his one-fourth pro rata, his share would amount to \$242! Any consideration of the nature of Louis Philippe leaves it a generous guess that he might have permitted his wife, Queen Marie Amelie, to contribute two shares, or \$484 out of her own funds, while he secured the reward of appearing as a munificent benefactor by "allowing the use of his name."*

"An Act for the relief of Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown in the State of Kentucky" and no more. Louis Philippe is not recorded by Congress any more than he was by Bishop Flaget.

*To show the intense persistence of a legend that once finds a foothold, it is only necessary to point out that, notwithstanding the statement in 1844 that every one of these alleged gifts had been removed to the new cathedral in Louisville, it is still claimed after eighty years that some, if not all, are yet in old St. Joseph's at Bardstown. Curiously enough these gifts were considered of so little importance, notwithstanding their "splendor and costliness" in gold

There is a still earlier act of Congress remitting duties on "certain vestments, furniture and paintings" for the relief of Bishop Flaget. It was introduced in the House December 30, 1824, and was not finally passed by the Senate and approved until May 20, 1826. The House Journal (18th Congress, second session, p. 91) has this entry:

"Mr. Moore of Kentucky presented a petition of Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of the Roman Apostolical Church of the Diocese of Bardstown in the State of Kentucky praying that the duties chargeable by law 'on some rich church vestments and other articles of church furniture' presented to the petitioner by his Grace the Duke of Orleans at Lyons in France for the sole use of the church in which he exercises his religious functions may be remitted."

The entry by the clerk, judging from the use of the quotation marks, is evidently a rendering of the remarks made by Mr. Moore upon introducing the bill. The original bill has not been found by the clerk of the House. In the printed copy there is no mention of any donors. It is considered doubtful if any written petitions were filed. Requests and motions were considered and spoken of as "petitions."

Mr. Moore was Major Thomas P. Moore, of Harrodsburg, who represented the district in Congress in 1826. He was a Protestant and no more intimate with Bishop Flaget than was Mr. Wickliffe. It is an interesting coincidence that John Rowan of Bardstown, who was a Catholic, was a Senator from Kentucky and voted for the bill. He said nothing about Louis Philippe. The records of this shipment through the port of New York have long been destroyed. There is nothing to show as a record that Bishop Flaget said the gifts came from Louis Philippe. There were then four persons in a position to know positively: The Bishop, his coadjutor [Bishop David], Father Elder, president of the College, and Father Kenrick. If there is anything existent upon the subject it is to be sought among their papers and records. But the legend was certainly busy at that early date. Writing one hundred years later of a visit to New Orleans, Julian Street, the well-known author says this of the Louis Philippe legend there: "How, although the refugee Duc d'Orleans (later Louis Philippe of France) stayed but a short time in New Orleans [5 weeks] did he manage to sleep in so many hundred beds and in houses which were not built long after his departure?"

and art, that they have been lost to memory in positive identification in the Louisville Cathedral where they seem never to have attracted attention. Some altar ornaments were dispersed in Louisville.

Of the parsimony of Louis Philippe under similar circumstances we get a definite glimpse in the "Life of Bishop Machebeuf," first bishop of Colorado, who in 1845 was pastor of a church at Sandusky, Ohio. Father Machebeuf, a Frenchman, went to France, seeking aid for his church. He wrote home: "I do not know what success I shall have with the Royal Family, but I have written to all of them, beginning with the King [Louis Philippe], then his sister Madame Adelaide, the Duke D'Aumale, who is so rich, and the Princess of Joinville, who is an American. The Queen has not sent the little assistance she promised. Perhaps it will all come at the same time, and, perhaps—nothing!"

If Louis Philippe gave anything Father Machebeuf makes no mention of it. But two weeks later he writes: "Madame Adelaide [the King's sister] gave me — guess how much. About 2,000 francs, you say? Just cut off one zero. The 2,000 would have been little enough, with all her wealth."

Total returns from the munificent Orleans family, \$38.60!*

It is argued by some that persistent "tradition" in the absence of historical record should be accepted as proof. Under such a rule it would be quite as true that Louis Philippe lived in Bardstown for several years and taught school there as that he gave bells, clocks, paintings, vestments and golden altar furniture to the Cathedral—for the two traditions went hand in hand. There is no shadow of truth as to the residence; but the legend of it is persistent, and finally crept into historical mention. It was set forth with fine eloquence on the very floor of Congress more than a hundred years after his one or two days' stop there in 1797. Yet, in spite of "tradition," he never lived there—never saw the place again.

Whether his Queen, Marie Amelie, and her brother, the King of Naples, gave anything to the Cathedral I have not sought to inquire. Let us hope they did. They were loyal Catholics, while Louis Philippe was a product of the irreligion of the French Revolution, turned Catholic for politics only in his middle and old age. If the

*One critic says that in 1846 a petition was sent from Cincinnati to Queen Marie Amelie in France asking for some ornament for the chapel of St. Xavier's College. Response came in the form of a painting of the Assumption "out of the King's private gallery." The proof that this came from the "private" gallery of the King is considered conclusive because the richly gilt frame now contains the inscription, "Donne par le roi en 1846." The Queen sends a gift. It is promptly labeled "from the King," his private gallery. But who says so? Paintings in St. Joseph's are labeled as from Louis Philippe notwithstanding Bishop Spalding's statement that all such were removed to Louisville in 1841.

others gave presents their gifts should be traced. If he gave, depend upon it he gave vicariously.

At the risk of deadly prolixity, that which seems to be the groundwork of the Louis Philippe legend may be examined for the most remote possibility of a connection between that personage and Bishop Flaget. It rests upon the tradition, sincerely believed by early residents of Bardstown, that the two had been friends in boyhood in France, and that it was this boyhood affection which led the prince to visit the bishop in the United States. No dates are vouchsafed. Dates are fatal to fables. But the facts as to the boyhood of both are easily ascertainable and from these it is about as plain as possible that they never did know each other in France and never met until chance threw them together in Havana.

They were not boys at the same time. The future bishop, born in 1764, was nearly ten years old when Louis Philippe was born in 1773. The bishop came of humble, peasant parentage, near Billom, in the Southern part of France. Louis Philippe was born to the purple royal in the Palais Royal in Paris in Northern France. The future bishop, doubly orphaned when two years old, was brought up by a pious peasant aunt who was very poor and made many sacrifices to give him to the church. In his age he wrote of her with beautiful gratitude.

He led the life of a hard working but studious peasant boy from the age of fourteen or fifteen, immured in parochial schools and seminaries, "working his way" through. At twenty (when Louis Philippe was ten) he was at the Sulpician monastery at Isse where he spent three years in ascetic solitude and thus developed that lifelong love of seclusion which led him several times later to seek to join the silent Trappists. Ordained at Isse he was sent to teach in the theological seminaries of Nantes and Angers. It was in 1791 that he fled from Angers for his life before the revolutionary forces under Dumouriez, in whose army was the Vendome regiment of cavalry commanded by Louis Philippe, then Duke of Chartres, aged eighteen. Young Flaget never saw Paris then.

During these boyhood years where was the royal child? Living in Paris in the splendor of the establishment of his father, great grandson of the famous Prince Regent, the Sardnapalus of the House of Orleans. At eight years the famous Madame de Genlis was made his governess. At twelve he became Duke of Chartres, colonel of a regiment. At eighteen he led it to the war was intended to outlaw religion and destroy the churches and the priesthood. It was before him that young Flaget fled for his life.

When, where and how, amidst these wide separations of years, distances, social conditions and purposes, could they possibly have met and formed a boyish friendship? In those days the difference between a royal duke and a peasant student was in France as great as that between master and field slave in America. There is no anecdote or reference in the recorded life of either that they had ever known each other before meeting in Havana. They never met on United States soil. Louis Philippe stopped a day at Bardstown in 1797. Bishop Flaget arrived there for the first time in 1810, thirteen years later.

This postscript is not written in any acrimonious controversy with those who believe in and cling to the legend of Louis Philippe. Their sincerity is respected, however much their careless acceptance of authority and more careless reading of printed records may be deplored. All of us, I assume, are alike seeking the truth. And if somewhere, sometime, there shall be dug up, as from the musty depths of the Egyptian tombs, any authoritative proof of the miracle that Louis Philippe gave something of value to somebody, I shall honor that surprising proof as they will. The legend of the gifts rests upon the foundation attaching to contact with all kings and potentates—that is, that the very touch of one is healing, that the stay of one in a private house renders the house sacred—therefore that a gift from Louis Philippe must have been all that was splendid, which it would have been—if it had been.

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THE EXPULSION OF THE FRANCISCANS FROM PRUSSIA AND THEIR COMING TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE SUMMER OF 1875

During the year 1875 the "Kulturkampf" was waging relentlessly throughout Germany. In pursuance to the "May Laws" all but three of the Bishops and, by the year 1880, 1,770 priests, had been imprisoned, exiled or called to a better life without anyone to replace them. 9,000 religious, 7,763 of whom were women, had been driven from their convent homes into misery and destitution; 601 parishes comprising some 644,697 souls were entirely bereft of spiritual care; 584 other congregations with over 1,500,000 members were inadequately served by many aged and infirm priests who were left without the necessary assistants and were working themselves slowly to death.¹

But this persecution in Germany proved a great blessing to other countries, notably to the United States. Of the Franciscans alone, about 120 religious (priests, clerics, brothers and students), found a hospitable haven in North America under the protection of the Stars and Stripes. From letters written in those days, especially by the Franciscan Fathers Anselm Puetz (whom we follow except in a few details credited to others), Mark Thienel and Casimir Vogt, we gather most interesting details.

"Our expulsion from Germany" writes Father Anselm Puetz,² "was providential, and we have good reason to be thankful for it to Almighty God.

"The religious Orders tolerated since 1848, such as the Jesuits, Redemptorists and Lazarists, were the first to go. The Franciscans, however, could not be summarily suppressed since the Order's existence was guaranteed by several paragraphs of the Prussian 'Landrecht.' These paragraphs could not be repealed before they had been made the subject of discussion and debate in the Prussian legislative bodies. This is the only reason why the Franciscans were among the last religious to be banished in May, 1875.

¹ Fr. A. Guggenberger, *General History of the Christian Era*, 8th Ed., Vol. III, p. 439.

² Rev. Anselm Puetz, O. F. M., in a letter to Rev. Eugene Hagedorn, O. F. M., dated Cleveland, Ohio, March, 1900.

“The air was filled with rumors. Some were favorable to us, others unfavorable. The faithful Catholics were alarmed and assisted with unwonted fervor at the solemn services in honor of the Sacred Heart of Jesus which we were conducting in our churches. We most earnestly conjured the Sacred Heart to avert the worst. Still, day after day the prospects grew more and more gloomy; our petition was to remain apparently unheard. The orders came. We were condemned to exile, because we could not comply with the state’s demand to acknowledge no foreign superior—the Pope and Father General in Rome. But our prayers were heard after all, in a manner far different from what we had expected. At the time we had little surmised that these events were to bring about the establishment of a vast new Province of the Order to be dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in far-off America, with headquarters in St. Louis, Missouri.

“When Very Rev. Gregory Janknecht, O. F. M., Provincial, had gathered the novices about him, to explain the state of affairs and to offer them the alternative of leaving the Order or emigrating to America, all without exception declared their readiness to go into exile. This happy result was due to the circumspection of the Very Reverend Father Provincial.³

“In June, 1875, four priests, some lay brothers, and a dozen or more boys that had been students at Annaberg in Silesia, departed for Warendorf.⁴ The remaining members of the community, and the candidates, were to follow them to America, but, owing to a change of plans, they went to Holland where a much larger college for aspirants to the Franciscan Order was soon founded at Harreveld. The religious at Warendorf joined the Silesian exiles that were en-route for America. Fathers Eugene Puers, Arsenius Fahle, and Bede Hansen, who had been denounced to the government for outspoken language and against whom a suit was pending, boarded their train at Hamm.⁵ Their immediate destination was Dusseldorf on the Rhine. As they drew near the monastery, they noticed that the streets were growing more and more crowded. In front of the Franciscan friary a veritable sea of human beings was surging back and forth, and they minced no words in denouncing the outrageous conduct of the liberal government. Only a spark would have been needed to cause open rebellion. Men, women and children intoned familiar, old, religious hymns, such as ‘Wir sind im wahren Christentum,’ and

³ Rev. Anselm Puetz to Rev. E.

⁴ Rev. Marcus Thienel, O. F. M. to Rev. E.

⁵ P. Anselm Puetz, l. c.—P. Mark Thienel, l. c.—Duesseldorfer Volksblatt, Vol. 1875, No. 150; Duesseldorfer Zeitung, June 11 and 25, 1875.

'Fest soll mein Tauf bund immer stehen', etc. It was a spectacle for men and angels. This spontaneous outburst of Catholic sentiment, this public profession of faith, and of loyalty to the sons of St. Francis was re-enacted everywhere at the departure of the religious. At Paderborn, the closing of the Franciscan church caused a riot and six people were wounded by the police. At Werl, however, Warendorf, Wiedenbrueck, and Duesseldorf, the expulsion was effected more peaceably. Hissing was heard here and there. Some rude remarks, such as: 'Now clear out with yaur Fathers' were made at times; but on a whole the closing of the churches passed off quietly.

"When the friars from Silesia and Westphalia arrived at Duesseldorf, the monastery was filled to overflowing; some eighty-five religious answered the roll-call. Slowly and gloomily the hours wore on. The refectory was filled four times before all had received their supper. Finally, the signal for departure was given. To avoid commotion many of the friars wore citizen-clothes, with their military decorations (received for faithful service as nurses in the late wars), on the lapels of their coats. They sauntered in groups of five and six to the quay to await the arrival of their boat. As the people were not accustomed to see the friars in any other garb than the Franciscan habit, they failed to recognize the exiles.

"Omnibusses were waiting at the monastery to convey the older Fathers to the Rhine. The scenes that ensued when they left their beloved cloisters beggar all description. Shoulder to shoulder stood the crowd; working-men in their blouses, citizens of the middle class, ladies and gentlemen of rank—all had come to catch one more glimpse of the religious that had won the love and esteem of all classes, to give expression to their gratitude, to show their unflinching loyalty to holy Mother Church, and to bid the exiles farewell. The omnibusses could hardly advance. The eager crowd seized the reins of the horses, and took hold of the wheels, in order to thank the Fathers once more and bid them God-speed. This scene was repeated over and over again along the road to the river where a large crowd had assembled. All Duesseldorf seemed astir. The police were present but unobtrusive, probably owing to the peaceful character of the demonstration.

"Their boat, styled the 'Koenig,' arrived about one o'clock A. M., and the bridge was lowered. Once all were aboard, they could breathe freely, for none except passengers were permitted on the ship. Father Irenaeus Bierbaum, O. F. M., lector of philosophy at the monastery in Duesseldorf, for whom most of the ovations were intended, threw himself upon a bench in sheer exhaustion from the excitement of the

trying scene. In the meantime the crowd gave vent to its feelings by singing religious hymns; and when the boat left its moorings a thousand throats rang out in a thundering "Hoch, Hoch, Hoch," to the exiles. Reverend Augustine Hensler, who was forced to stay behind for a period, returned the compliment by a triple 'Hoch' to the people of Duesseldorf. As the boat carried the exiles down the Rhine, religious hymns still greeted the departing friars. The strains were audible for a long time; gradually they grew fainter until they died in the darkness.

"The 'Koenig' was a poor excuse of a vessel, insufficiently equipped for so large a number of passengers. There was not even sitting-room for all, much less sleeping-quarters. As their hours wore on, the pangs of hunger were added to the discomfiture of the situation, for in our excitement on the previous evening we had not been able to partake of a full meal. The price of food on the boat was prohibitive, so we preferred to spend the day (it was Friday) fasting until we should reach Rotterdam. The captain was a rude sailor, who ill concealed his satisfaction at our expulsion. At Uerdingen on the Lower Rhine, twelve members of the teaching sisterhood at Coesfeld (Westphalia) known also as the Sisters of Notre Dame of Muelhausen boarded our boat at dawn. They, too, were exiles en-route for Cleveland, Ohio.

"Our steamer now drew near the boundaries of Holland. At Emmerich, Dutch custom-house officials came aboard the 'Koenig' to examine our baggage. What could they find but empty pockets? The only cause for anxiety concerned the Fathers who were being pursued by the Prussian police. Was it possible that some informer had revealed their whereabouts? Our fears proved unfounded. Soon the boundary was passed and Rev. Arsenius Fahle was beside himself with joy. Forgetting his hunger and thirst he boisterously intoned 'Lieb' Vaterland, magst ruhig sein.' His confreres joined in and vigorously continued singing 'Die Wacht am Rhein.'⁶

"But let us return to our narrative. Towards three o'clock on Friday afternoon, June 10, 1875, our boat passed the towns of Briel and Goreum, famous in history as the scene of triumph of the Martyrs of Goreum. Most of them were Franciscans, and all had died for the faith after sustaining countless insults and tortures at the hands

⁶ They were leaving the "Fatherland" but not forever. Before twelve years had run their course the prudent tactics of Windhorst and his colleagues, backed up by the harmony of the Catholics, caused a law to be passed which permitted the exiles to return.

of the Calvinists. We enthusiastically greeted our martyred Brethren, who had suffered far more than we, by intoning the beautiful hymn: 'Dem Herzen Jesu singe, Mein Herz in Liebeswonn.'

About six o'clock, our river boat, a veritable dwarf compared to the ocean steamers, cast anchor alongside the gigantic 'Rotterdam,' which was to convey us to America. With the greatest joy and alacrity we left our place of torture and climbed aboard our steamer, where we were agreeably surprised to find Mr. Huffer, a merchant of Muenster, Westphalia, a member of the Center Party and a factotum regarding all Catholic institutions. But for his foresight, we should have had to retire to our cabins without supper, as our contract dated from the next day, only. Some Dutch Franciscans called aboard the ship and invited us to visit their monastery. But few of the Fathers accepted the kind invitation; most of us preferred to retire and enjoy a refreshing sleep, of which we had been deprived by the exciting scenes of the preceding days.

Saturday morning, June 11, the "Rotterdam" weighed anchor. Mr. Huffer left the port with us, then took leave and returned to the shore in a small boat. When he left, it was raining while the sun was shining, thus forming a beautiful rainbow. Was it to remind us that life's joys must ever be combined with sorrow, that Divine Providence tenderly watches over us, and that after this storm of persecution, peace would be restored? As we set sail from Rotterdam, we intoned the "Ave Maris Stella," that favorite hymn of Catholic mariners and ocean travelers. All day our vessel sailed along the Dutch coast. Our ship was still without ballast and, therefore, at the mercy of the stormy sea. Soon the pilot and the officer on duty were the only persons on deck. The others had vanished into their cabins to pay their tribute to Neptune, the god of the sea. At dinner two or three Fathers, Eugene Puers, Mark Thienel, and, for a time, Father Isidore Loeser put in their appearance. During the night our vessel lay at anchor at Flushing to take in, on the next day, a Sunday, the necessary supply of coal, besides a large quantity of lead for ballast.

It was the feast of St. Anthony of Padua. Rev. P. Mark Thienel celebrated Holy Mass aboard the ship, and the others received Holy Communion. Though Mr. Janssen, the captain of the "Rotterdam," was not a Catholic, his obliging conduct in providing the Franciscans with a place for religious service, etc., deserves special commendation. Practically the whole steamer had been reserved for the Friars. Amidship, the vacant space had been transformed into a chapel. The altar was adorned with cross, candlesticks, and two paintings of the

Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph. In this chapel we could say or hear Holy Mass, make our confession, receive Holy Communion, and even chant the Divine Office in common, so that the ship seemed transformed into a monastery. Making use of the opportunity ashore, we marched along the scrupulously clean streets of Flushing and entered the Catholic Church, to assist at the last Mass. Several pews were immediately vacated for our convenience. Everywhere we were shown the greatest courtesy and sympathy. Having learned from the press who the visitors were, the townspeople flocked to the wharf that afternoon to show their sympathy.

Soon the "Rotterdam" resumed its voyage, which proved to be an uneventful one and lasted seventeen days. Every day we had the happiness of assisting at Holy Mass and of chanting the Divine Office. One of the Fathers said Mass for the Sisters. Our free time was spent mostly on deck where we beguiled the weary hours by singing hymns in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Holy Father St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, etc., to the edification of our fellow-passengers. The voyage was very monotonous and tedious and, for days, interrupted only by the shrill scream of the steam-whistle and the fog-horn, warning other vessels of our approach, cautioning them to be careful, lest the dense fog cause a disastrous collision.

According to the ship's log-book our vessel must have been off the coast of Newfoundland, when the impenetrable fog was rent by a cannon-shot, followed by the ringing of a bell and the sound of a trumpet. All aboard were startled. What could this mean? The ship came to a full stop; thereupon moved slowly in the direction whence the sounds had come. In their excitement all passengers ran to the deck, in order to learn the cause of this unusual occurrence. Presently, alongside our steamer a large fishing smack emerged from the fog; soon a boat was lowered and made for the "Rotterdam." We all expressed the opinion that the craft must be in distress. Happily this proved untrue. The fisherman had perceived our fog-signal and had fired the shot to escape being borne below the waves by our vessel. To show captain Janssen their appreciation for heeding their signals, they offered him a large tub of fresh fish for a present. The captain accepted it and in return ordered some bottles of Bordeaux to be given the fisherman. They flourished their caps in acknowledgment and returned to the fishing smack. Thus ended the solitary adventure of our voyage.

Still, we did not retire that night without anxiety, seeing uncertainty depicted on the faces of the hardy tars, who declared that the fog was an enemy more to be dreaded than a violent storm. Some

of us spent the night in prayer. Imagine our joy, however, when next morning the fog had given place to a beautiful clear sky. A favorable breeze from the north swelled the sails and hurried our vessel along on its southern course. This made it unnecessary to stop a day at Halifax, in order to take in a new supply of coal. The awnings were lowered to protect us from the burning rays of the sun; the hope of soon again walking on *terra firma* animated all aboard with new life and vigor.

Next day, July 1, towards four o'clock P. M., we cast anchor at New York. Being duly examined by a physician, we were immediately allowed to land. I shall not attempt to describe the panorama, which greeted our eyes in the metropolis of the New World. None save those who have experienced it, can form an idea of the throng of sensation which pervade an intelligent immigrant's bosom when he first catches a glimpse of the New World.

After our baggage had been examined, we turned our attention to a lodging-place. Charitable hearts had, however, already provided for us exiles. The Rev. Father Ivo, O. M. Cap., and Franciscan Sisters of Aix-la-Chapelle had come out on a tug and boarded our ship to offer us hospitality. Soon the Redemptorists and Brothers of Mary (Dayton, Ohio) also most kindly tendered their services. But the palm must, undoubtedly, be awarded to little Father Ivo, Guardian of the Capuchin monastery of our Mother of Dolors, Pitt Street, New York City. Seeing us standing at the wharf, not knowing whither to direct our steps, he resolutely stopped several street cars and compelled us like sheep to board them. Suddenly there was a hitch. One car had run off the track. Immediately the resolute guardian was off the car, summoned a few broad-shouldered Brothers to his aid and, ere long, we continued our trip until we alighted at Pitt Street.

We soon perceived that the under-sized Capuchin guardian was a man of indomitable energy. He had aroused the whole parish to prepare food, a lodging, and a hearty welcome for us. At the school-house crowds came and went. They all expressed their sympathy for the victims of the "Kulturkampf" and welcomed us to the shores of the New World, yes, they even drank to the health of Bismark for sending them such immigrants. If the hall below the church eighty-five mattresses, etc., had been spread to afford us a good night's rest.

Fr. Ivo took us to the meeting-place of the Third Order of St. Francis, where an excellent luncheon was served by Franciscan Sisters,

while the school children in the yard made a display of fire-works.⁷ The victuals had been furnished lavishly by bakers, grocers, butchers, etc., so that something was left over for the journey to Teutopolis.

Gradually the time for retiring had come. Despite the extensive preparations only seven or eight friars stayed over night with the kind Father Ivo. Religious communities vied with Father Ivo in offering hospitality, which we could not well refuse. Thus Rev. Father Damasus Ruesing, Master of Novices and some of his charges stayed with the Redemptorists. Another group accepted the invitation of the Christian Brothers, while others went to the Hospital of the Franciscan Sisters. Nor did the people allow themselves to be outdone in kindness by the religious. They considered it a great honor to harbor the exiled sons of the Seraphic Patriarch St. Francis. One person after the other applied to harbor one of those esteemed immigrants. An Israelite said, that he had just refurnished his house; one story was vacant; this he would gladly place at the disposal of the friars. "I am, indeed, an Israelite," he added, "but I gladly do so, because it is a good work."⁸ Finally, Father Ivo emphatically declared that the seven or eight priests remaining must stay with him. We did so and spent a very pleasant evening. Father Ivo introduced us to American life by relating in a dramatic manner some of his experiences.

Great was our astonishment when, next morning, we found a large congregation at Mass and heard the people recite their prayers in German hymns. We felt at home at once.

In the course of the day, we took in the sights of the Metropolitan City of the New World, the good Capuchin Fathers and Brothers most readily offering their services as guides. Pitt Street remained our headquarters. We had agreed to meet there at four o'clock P. M. Thence we were to go in a body to the railroad station, to board a train for the West. So far all had turned out well. But, "*Mit des Geschickes Maechten Ist kein ewiger Bund zu flechten.*"

"What chain so strong, what girth so great,
To bind the giant form of Fate?
Swift are the steps of Woe."

During the day, Reverend Fathers Irenaeus and myself (Father Anselm) had received an invitation from Sr. Vincentia, O. S. Fr., Mother Provincial, to visit the Hospital. We accepted and called at

⁷ July 4th was at hand.

⁸ Fr. Bede Hansen.

the large, splendidly equipped St. Elizabeth Hospital in Fifth Street. Here we found seven of our Confratres, who had lodged there and liked the place so well, as to become oblivious of Pitt Street. We visited the wards and rooms, but were unable to converse much with the patients, as most of them were Irish. But Catholics soon understand each other and one of the Sisters interpreted their wish "to have the Fathers' blessing." We blessed them and they seemed to appreciate it highly. From the roof of the Hospital we had an imposing view of the city and of the ocean.—After dinner, the nine Franciscans got ready to walk to Pitt Street. But the good Sisters prevailed upon us to take the street car to the Depot. They sent along an old veteran inmate, a German, who seems to have known no more English than we, and who was not sure about the way, but trusted the street car conductor. The latter put us off at the first depot we passed. We had to take a ferry-boat to reach the station where we hoped to find our confreres. But far and near none of them were in sight. We attempted to enter the platform for passengers and were turned away. We tried to explain what we wanted; no one understood our language. As it was still an hour before train time, we watched every ferry-boat for our Brethren. We heard the whistle of the train—and gone it was. As the waiting room was almost empty, a German appeared and explained to us that we were at the wrong depot; we should have stayed on the street car much longer. What was to be done? Nothing but to return by the ferry-boat. The fellow-passengers read in our faces that something was wrong. Immediately a crowd of curious people had gathered about us. In vain we attempted to converse. They did not speak German nor did we speak English. Finally two well-dressed gentlemen pressed through the crowd and in broken German inquired about our mishap. We explained what had occurred and desired to be shown the way to Pitt Street. They promised to help us.

When we had once more set foot upon dry land, they beckoned a cabman to draw near and told him a few words in English. The cab-driver was a German, who urged all nine to climb into one cab. No doubt, he wished to realize a snug sum of money. Six found a place inside, two climbed upon the box. Father Anselm made no preparations to get in, though urged by the cabman to do so. "Where are *you* going to sit?" I inquired of the cab-driver. "Well, I shall find a place," he answered. I asked Rev. Father Isidore whether he had agreed on the fare. "No," was the answer. Imagine his surprise, when upon inquiry he learned that the fare would be \$9.00 for a drive of a few blocks.

All jumped off as if stung by an adder. Our driver now came down to half a dollar per person. But I declined and explained, "Behold there the street car that brought us hither; it shall take us back, too." Soon we arrived at the street, crossing Pitt Street. In our eagerness we all walked along in the street instead of using the sidewalk, which unusual action attracted the attention of the people, sitting on the porches in front of the houses, breathing the exhilarating air of the evening. Soon remarks were heard about the "greenhorns," which remarks must have been anything but complimentary, since they were accompanied with a shower of missiles, consisting of stones and rotten vegetables. "Go on the sidewalk!" shouted Father Anselm. The order was obeyed and forthwith the people ceased their mockery and bombarding.

The Capuchins were much surprised at our return. The guardian had accompanied the main body of friars to the railroad station and had not yet returned.

Next morning, July 2, was the Feast of the Visitation of the B. V. M.—Father Anselm, the only priest left behind at Pitt Street, said Holy Mass and the Brothers received Holy Communion. We were again edified by the tastefully decorated church and the singing of the school children. When Father Ivo, O. M. Cap., learned of our wanderings, he expressed his sympathy and reassured us of the safety of our brethren on their westbound journey. Our tickets had been retained by the agent and would be handed to us. As another train left at nine o'clock A. M., he bade us hurry, and Mother Vincentia, with another Hospital Sister, accompanied us to the right station. Father Irenaeus had crossed over to Brooklyn to get our tickets while the agent had gone to New York to bring them to us. They passed each other on the way. It was nearly train time and Rev. Irenaeus was not yet in sight. The signal for the departure for the train was given; it began to pull out when P. Irenaeus arrived and threw himself exhausted on the first seat. Whose hearts were more glad than ours? We all rendered thanks to God by a heartfelt "Deo gratias!"

It was a very fine day as our train sped along the shores of the beautiful Hudson River, often styled the Rhine of America.—Only now did we discover how generously the good Sisters had provided for our every want. As the treasurer of the entire band of exiles was in our coach, the larger division that had gone ahead was practically without money. Luckily Father Eugene Puers, who had been in America before and who was the only member of the party who spoke English, succeeded in borrowing about eighty dollars from a

good-natured fellow-passenger, and thus at Birmingham, New York, some food was procured; likewise at Niagara and Detroit.⁹

As our train entered the many stations that first morning, we heard the ringing of a bell and wondered at the late hour of divine services. When, however, the bell was heard still ringing in the afternoon, the "greenhorns" began to "see." It was the locomotive bell, specifically American, that had deceived us. Towards midnight, the brakeman awakened the passengers and called attention to the roaring of Niagara Falls. Of the Falls themselves, however, we could see nothing owing to the darkness. At the railroad stations of the principal cities, the reporters invaded our coach for an interview. But neither they nor we could understand each other. Still the reporters were not easily daunted. They ran through the coach till they found some German-American whom they employed as an interpreter. Thus they were able to fill a column or two with news.

Sunday afternoon, the agent who had accompanied our confreres to Chicago entered our car to tell us that our brethren, who had been informed of our mishap, were well and, by this time, in the vicinity of Effingham, Illinois. He also advised us to board the night train which would reach that town by four o'clock A. M., where Rev. Michael Weis, pastor of the local church, would have some one meet us and provide for our journey to Teutopolis. This was welcome news, indeed.

At Chicago, we boarded the Illinois Central train. All of our small troupe, especially the younger ones, were tired and their eyes heavy with sleep. We bedded them as comfortably as circumstances permitted and we all sank into a profound, dreamless sleep. At four o'clock A. M., we were aroused by the porter and informed that we had reached Effingham. As we alighted, we noticed that the air was rather warm and sultry. A young man, formerly a student of St. Joseph's College at Teutopolis, met us and conducted us to the residence of the Rev. M. Weis. We were loath to disturb the Reverend gentleman in his nightly repose, as he had been in the confessional till late in the evening and had much work on hand for Sunday. We gladly availed ourselves of his permission to say Holy Mass in his church, but declined that one Father sing the High Mass and the other preach. He informed us that after High Mass, a number of farmers would be at hand to convey us to Teutopolis. So eager were we, however, to rejoin our brethren, that we would hear of no delay. After partaking of an excellent breakfast served by Father Weis's sister Barbara, we at once set out, without the least protection, to

⁹ Thus Rev. Francis Haase, O. F. M.

walk four miles. Before long, we had reason to repent of our folly, and dearly did we pay for our ignorance of the American climate. The heat proved to be intolerable. Never had I experienced such heat before. Soon the perspiration poured down in streams. Our pace slackened; the fatigue became excessive, intolerable. Finally, the Teutopolis church steeple loomed us in the distance. At length we reached the monastery about noon, as the bell from its tower pealed forth the invitation to recite the Angelus. We reached our goal just in the nick of time, since two of us were on the point of being overcome by the heat. Another fifteen minutes would have proved fatal. The Rev. Gerard Becher, Guardian of the monastery, did all in his power to relieve us. The two near exhaustion were forthwith marched to the pump where cold water was poured over their heads. Refreshments were then provided.

But we must not forget to describe the trip of the first and larger division of exiles. On July 1, about 7 o'clock P. M., they had left New York. Their leave-taking was a touching spectacle. Captain Janssen of the Rotterdam and some of his officers had come to wish his passengers Godspeed. The Erie R. R. had offered the exiled Franciscans reduced fare and transported their baggage free of charge to Teutopolis. They were given a special coach¹⁰ which was rather too small for the seventy-five or more passengers it carried to Teutopolis. The Railroad Company even sent an agent with them to see that the car was transferred to the right train. They had journeyed along the Hudson River and in the afternoon had arrived at Niagara Falls. After crossing the suspension bridge, the train backed up to afford the passengers a better view of the gigantic Falls. Passing through Canada and via ferry-boat to Detroit, they came to Chicago where the traces of the recent Great Fire (A. D. 1871) were still visible. From here a despatch was forwarded to Teutopolis announcing their arrival. From Chicago they journeyed via Illinois Central R. R. to Effingham, where the guardian, Rev. Gerard Becher, and the late Mr. F. Washefort received them. Soon after a special train brought the victims of the Kulturkampf to their destination. It was July 3, 1875. At the station, a procession was formed which, amid the ringing of bells wended its way to the church. Here Rev. P. Mathias welcomed them. After Father Gerard had made a brief address to his exiled brethren, Sacramental Benediction followed. This over, all filed into the dining room to do ample justice to the refreshments, starved as they had been during a trip lasting two days and two nights.¹¹ About

¹⁰ Besides the baggage car (Fr. Francis),

¹¹ So far Fr. Anselm in the long letter quoted and written in German.

fifty of the newcomers were sent to lodge at the college which afforded sufficient accommodations, as the students had already departed for their vacation. The novices and some others remained at the monastery which on this memorable occasion was taxed to its utmost capacity. Some confusion had been occasioned as the despatch announcing the arrival of so many confreres had been delayed until their arrival at Chicago. As soon as the message was received at its destination, all hands set to work at once to prepare for the newcomers.¹²

Thus the number of Franciscans in America was increased by sixteen priests, twenty-five clerics, nine novices, eight lay brothers, two novices (brothers), five tertiaries, in all sixty-five religious.¹³ Adding the candidates, about eighty-two or eighty-five¹⁴ persons arrived at Teutopolis on July 3rd, and 4th respectively, 1875. On the latter day, a Sunday, Reverend Augustine McClory, O. F. M., said his first Mass. Rev. Arsenius and Ewald Fahle and the Rev. Damasus Ruesing assisted the neopresbyter. On account of the sweltering heat, the dalmatics used were rendered almost unfit for use by the perspiration. A most violent thunder-storm in the following night afforded some relief from the excessive heat.

The arrival of so many religious enabled the Franciscans at Teutopolis to extend their field of labor. The requests of some of various Bishops for Franciscan Friars could now be granted. A meeting of the Counsellors of the American Mission was held at St. Louis, Missouri, to accept new houses, to assign superiors and to regulate the studies of the clerics.¹⁵ St. Peter's Church, Chicago, whither Rt. Reverend Thomas Foley, D. D., had invited the friars in 1872 was accepted; likewise new parishes in Indianapolis, Indiana, Jordan, Minnesota, and St. Bernard, Nebraska. The students of theology were assigned to the friary in St. Louis, Missouri, those of philosophy to the friary at Quincy, Illinois; the students of the so-called "humaniora," or post-graduate course, remained at the novitiate-house in Teutopolis, whilst the candidates were placed at St. Joseph's College, located in the same town.

On June 4th the following year nine theologians were ordained priests in St. Louis.

In 1879 the American Mission was raised to the dignity of a regular *Province* of the Order under the title of *The Sacred Heart of Jesus*. In 1915, this province had grown so large as to justify the

¹² Fr. Paulinus Tolpodorf—Anselm, etc.

¹³ Cf. Provincial Chronicle, A. D. 1875.

¹⁴ According to others 87 persons—11 (9?) in the second party.

¹⁵ Provincial Chronicle, A. D. 1875.

separation of its houses along the Pacific Coast and their establishment as a *new province* under the title of *Santa Barbara*.

Thus from the mother province of the Holy Cross in Germany, which was disbanded in 1875, there proceeded, directly or indirectly, the two American provinces just mentioned; moreover, two flourishing provinces in Brazil, South America, a separate province in Silesia, in Europe, a well established vicariate in China, and another in the making. Furthermore, the mother province soon regained its former strength and at the present day is the largest province in the Franciscan Order. Verily, to the sons of St. Francis the "Kulturkampf" was a blessing in disguise.

LIST OF EXILES

(Provincial Chronicle, A. D., 1875)

A list of the exiles will be interesting to our readers to whom undoubtedly a number *were* or *are* known.

I. REVEREND FATHERS:

*Eugene Puers, the leader
 *Marcus Thienel
 *Damasus Ruesing, Master of
 Novices
 *Isidore Loeser
 *Bonaventure Machuy
 *Irenaeus Bierbaum
 *Arsenius Fahle
 *Sebastian Cebulla
 *Desiderius Liss
 *Ewaldus Fahle
 Maternus Mallmann
 *Bede Hansen
 *Anselm Puetz
 *Paul Teroerde
 *Richard van Heek, novice
 *Casimir Vogt, novice

Fulgence Hansen
 *Benno Schaefer
 *Lawrence Eppinger
 *Pacificus Kohnen
 *Henry Muehlstroh
 *James Nolte
 Maurice Baukholt
 *Servatius Rasche
 Stanislaus Kampmann
 Dionysius Schroeder
 Albert Rittner
 *Anastasius Czech
 *Cornelius Schoenwaelder
 *Leo Brandys
 Odoricus Derenthal
 Remigius Goette
 Paulinus Tolksdorf
 Urban Stanowski

II. PROFESSED CLERICS:

Aloysius Hoeren
 *Andrew Butzkueben
 Francis Haase
 *Cyprian Banscheid
 *Cyril Augustinsky
 Engelbert Gey
 *Benignus Schuetz

III. NOVICES (CLERICS):

*Bernard Doebbing (Later
 Bishop of Nepi and Sutri
 in Italy)
 *Alphonse or Athanasius
 Goette (Later Vicar Apostolic
 in China, at Sianfu,
 March 29, 1908)

*From Eye-witness. Rev. Huyolinus Storff, etc.

- *Capistran Goette (Chinese Missionary)
 Damianus Koziolk
 Edmund Roediger
 Florentius Kurzer
 Hugolinus Storff (Later held the office of Provincial four times)
 Nicholas Stordeur
 Apollinaris Seibert
 *Clementine Lohrbacher?

IV. PROFESSED LAY BROTHERS :

- *Quirinus Hummels
 Zachary Beeher
 Erasmus Hess
 *Diodorus Hebbecke
 Hilarion Iven
 *Benignus Pander
 *Peter Schurgast
 Massaeus Becker

V. NOVICES (LAY BROTHERS) :

- Arnoldus Wilms
 Hubert Schneider

VI. TERTIARIES :

- Isidore Tritelski
 Caesar Hunnewinkel
 Andrew
 Vitalis Arnemann
 Zosimus Orlic

VII. CANDIDATES :

- *Paul Schmidt (Fr. Benedict)
 John Jaspers (Fr. Floribert)
 *Henry Reinkemeyer (Fr. Ignatius)
 *Albert Scholz (Fr. Stephan)
 *John Gey (Fr. Isidore)
 Christian Neukirchen (Fr. Leonard)
 Charles Hoelters (Fr. Godfrey)
 *Henry Hilchenbach (Fr. Solanus)
 Anthony Zurbonsen (Secular priest)
 Oswald Rotter — Gerard Buschmann
 Joohn Fahle—Louis Mesek.
 Wilhelm Kirchfeldt (Fr. Gaudence)
 and about six more.

A Second Division of Exiled Franciscans Arrived Under the Leadership of the Reverend Vincent Halbfas, O. F. M.

On July 12, 1875, another division of Exiled Friars comprising eleven priests, five clerics, five lay brothers and two tertiaries, i. e., a total of twenty-three arrived, viz. :

I. REVEREND FATHERS :

- *Vincent Halbfas (First Provincial of the S. Heart Province, 1879-1885)
 *Wolfgang Janietz
 *Pancratius Schulte
 *Guido Knepper
 Martin Von Kolke
 *Rufinus Moehle
 *Eusebius Mueller
 Maximilian Neumann
 Hilary Scholz

- *Heribert Mertens
 *Mathias Scholly

II. THE CLERICS (THEOLOGAINS) :

- *John Gafron
 *Eustace Vollmer
 *Symphorian Forstmann
 *Marcellinus Bickmann
 *Leonardus Breuer

III. THE LAY BROTHERS :

- *Norbert Doebe
 *Nazarius Schmechta

*From Eye-witness.

Mauritius Kruse

*Onesimus Steinmeyer

*Damianus Bueschgens

IV. THE TERTIARIES :

*Marcus Schaefer

*Dionysius Nacon

Rev. Anselm (Francis) *Puetz, O. F. M.*, was a native of Dueren, Rhineland, Dioc. of Cologne, where he first saw the light on September 1, 1834. He was ordained a priest in September, 1862. For a time he was "Domsaenger" (Singer in the Minster) in Aachen (Aix la Chapelle); for he had a pleasant and powerful voice. In a letter most probably referring to him the Provincial speaks of him as having the finest voice in the Province. On October 6, 1870, he received the garb of St. Francis and the name of Anselm. His description of the journey of the exiled Franciscans in 1875 to America is a graphic one and shows his power of observation and popular German style. After attending for a time to Green Creek, Illinois, and seeking by all means to learn English, he was one of the pioneer Franciscan priests of Platte County, Nebraska, attending St. Mary's from Columbus. He next took Father Lohmann's place at Damiansville, Illinois, for some months of bad weather, malaria, etc., busily engaged comforting the sick and burying the dead. There he laid the foundation for an ailment that afflicted him more or less during life. After laboring in Joliet, Ill., St. Peter's, and St. Augustine's, Chicago, Quincy, Ill., Rhineland, Mo., Cleveland, Ohio, and for several years at Teutopolis, Ill., as assistant pastor and teacher of Plain Chant to the novices, he was sent to St. Joseph's, Cleveland, Ohio, where he labored zealously as assistant and as Director of the Third Order of St. Francis—during ca. 17 years. He passed to his final reward on January 14, 1912. Rt. Rev. Bishop Farrelly sang the Requiem Mass at which many priests and religious, to whom deceased had been a prudent confessor and director, assisted. At Father Anselm's request, there was no funeral sermon. Father Anselm had been a preacher of no mean ability and above all, an excellent religious, edifying all with whom he came in contact. He left reminiscences about many of the places where he had labored as a contribution to the Provincial Chronicle. R. I. P.

EUGENE HAGEDORN, O. F. M.

Teutopolis, Ill.

THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS AT JOLIET, ILLINOIS

Today, the Christian Brothers of Joliet and their students are honoring the memory of St. John Baptist De La Salle, founder of the Order of Christian Brothers, an educational organization, exclusively consecrated to the moral, religious and intellectual training of youth. The Brothers feel that if their institute has achieved a world-wide celebrity, in their chosen field of endeavor, much of the success attending their efforts is due the master-mind, St. John Baptist De La Salle. His pedagogical prescriptions are as efficacious, in the twentieth century, as they were in the seventeenth, when his constructive genius brought into being some of the most useful creations and reforms of modern times. His system for the education of boys and young men has not, after two hundred and forty-five years, been surpassed by the so-called greatest educational reformers. The local high school has been named in honor of the famous Frenchman.

HERE SIX YEARS

Six years have elapsed since the Brothers came to Joliet, to apply the traditional educational principles and theories which they have inherited from their distinguished founder. Already, they are on the eve of erecting a new school building, which promises to be one of the finest and best equipped of its kind. Preparatory work will be undertaken in the near future. The Rev. Brother Lawrence, principal of the school, says that he hopes to see it ready for the 1925-1926 school session, next September, and that when Founder's day, 1926 comes around, the students will be in possession of one of the most beautiful school structures in the city.

At the instance of His Grace, George W. Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, the Christian Brothers assumed the direction of the west side high school, the only one for Catholic boys, in Joliet.

The brothers feel assured that by religiously adhering to the character-forming, mind-developing program laid down for them by St. John Baptist De La Salle, supplemented by the experience of two hundred and fifty years in the class room, they will be able to duplicate the most successful achievements of their co-workers in nearly all of the principal cities of the United States and Canada. Their methods, vitalized by the same spiritual force that enabled St. La Salle to work a veritable transformation in the youth of France,

they are confident, will produce equally gratifying results. A system that has produced in New York and Buffalo such eminent churchmen as Cardinal Mundelein, of Chicago; Cardinal Hayes of New York; Archbishop Dowling, of St. Paul and the late Archbishop Quigley, of Chicago, cannot fail to mold others who will be a credit to their country and the educational methods producing them.

SAINT LA SALLE'S FAMILY TREE

St. John Baptist De La Salle was born in the city of Reims, France, in 1651. During the late World War, that city was the target of Germany's "Big Bertha." Its cathedral, which was an architectural marvel, was badly damaged. De La Salle's forebears were illustrious in church and state.

His ancestors, in the 9th century, were Spaniards, and were among the most noble personages of the kingdom of Spain. Johan Salla was commander-in-chief of the royal forces of King Alfonso. About the middle of the fourteenth century, the younger branch of Salla, or, De La Salle, removed to France. His father was a recognized leader in his profession; he was an able lawyer, of brilliant reputation. St. La Salle was distantly related to Robert La Salle, the explorer, who has left his mark on the early history of our country.

Having been graduated from the University of Reims with distinction, he pursued his theological studies in the renowned Seminary of Saint Sulpice, Paris. After his ordination to the priesthood, he won the degree of doctor of divinity.

ESTABLISHMENT OF TEACHING ORDER

Thru a series of seemingly fortuitous circumstances, but, in reality, Providentially designed for the creation of a new teaching order, in the Catholic church, in France, in a few years, La Salle found himself directing a small body of teachers, the nucleus of the present institution, known as the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian schools.

For forty years he presided over its destinies, which were frequently threatened with disaster by various hostile representatives of both church and state. At his death, in 1719, his work was almost universally recognized as most useful to society, and especially, to the sons of the common people of France. Since then, it has grown to be one of the most numerous of the teaching bodies in the Catholic church. It has become world-wide and all-embracing, geographically and racially. All hands know the Christian Brothers, whose pupils

include almost every nationality under the sun. Coming to the United States, about 80 years ago, at the request of Archbishop Hughes of New York, the first American foundation has branched out to almost all the principal cities of the United States and Canada. It is not at all improbable that within the next few years, expansion of the Christian Brothers' educational activities will take place in the great Middle West.

Two high schools are in contemplation by Chicago priests, who are desirous of entrusting them to St. La Salle's religious teachers. An experience of six years in Joliet has made the Christian Brothers of De La Salle high school optimistic and hopeful of results in the education of their students that Saint De La Salle had in view, when he founded his order of teachers, two centuries and a half ago.

A CHRISTIAN BROTHER.

Joliet Ill.

AN HISTORIC COURT DECISION

On June 1, 1925, Mr. Justice James Clark McReynolds of the Supreme Court of the United States delivered an opinion which was concurred in by all the members of the court holding invalid the act passed by the Oregon legislature to compel all children in the state between 8 and 16 years of age to attend the public school.

For the purpose of an historical record perhaps the best presentation decision and its public reaction is contained in *The Literary Digest* of June 13, 1925 which we quote:

The right of fathers and mothers to have a voice in the education of their children is established by the United States Supreme Court when it declares void the famous "Oregon School Law," which sought to compel the attendance of children in public schools to the exclusion of private or parochial schools. "The child is not the mere creature of the State," avers Mr. Justice McReynolds, in writing a history-making decision which has the unanimous concurrence of his fellow Justices. "A new *Magna Charta* for the integrity of family life," "a decision against tyranny," "a triumph for the rights of minorities," "a victory for freedom of education," "a crushing defeat for bigotry," "a bulwark against the tyranny of the majority"—these are some of the characterizations of this decision by such representative dailies as the *Newark News*, *Brooklyn Eagle*, *Portland Oregonian*, *New York Herald*, *Tribune* and *World*, and *Boston Herald*. Other papers, quoted at the end of this article, comment on the relation between this Oregon case, now settled, and the even more famous anti-evolution case now pending in Dayton, Tennessee.

Before quoting the decision and further press characterizations of it, it may be of value to our readers to present briefly the salient facts leading up to the Supreme Court's action. In 1922, when the influence of the Ku Klux Klan in Oregon politics was apparently at its peak, the Oregon School Law was passed, not by the Legislature, but by a vote of the people. The voting was 115,506 to 103,685, which means that the new law won by a margin of less than 12,000 in a total vote of nearly 220,000. Like most States, Oregon already had a compulsory education law. But the new statute went much further, decreeing that after September 1, 1926, all normal children in the State between the ages of eight and sixteen (with a few specified exceptions) would be compelled to attend "public" schools. Exempted from this law were: children physically unable to attend school;

children who had completed the eighth grade; children living too far from a school; and children receiving adequate private instruction in the home. With these exceptions, the law decreed that—

“Any parent, guardian or other person in the State of Oregon, having control or charge or custody of a child under the age of sixteen years and of the age of eight years or over, at the commencement of a term of public school of the district in which said child resides, who shall fail or neglect or refuse to send such child to a public school for the period of time a public school shall be held during the current year in said district, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and each day’s failure to send such child to a public school shall constitute a separate offense.”

Failure on the part of parent or guardian to obey this law was to be punished by “a fine of not less than \$5 nor more than \$100, or imprisonment in the county jail for not less than two or more than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.” It was immediately evident that this law would put out of business all private and parochial schools in Oregon. Moreover, there were signs that other States were preparing to follow Oregon’s lead. It was therefore challenged in the courts by The Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, in behalf of the parochial schools, and by the Hill Military Academy. The Protestant Episcopal Church, the Seventh Day Adventists and the American Jewish Committee each filed a brief in support of the position taken by the parochial and private schools. In April, 1924, the plaintiffs won their case in the Federal District Court, sitting in Portland, which declared the law unconstitutional. In behalf of the State, Governor Walter M. Pierce carried the case to the United States Supreme Court, which now sustains the decision of the lower court.

The Supreme Court’s opinion in the case, handed down on June 1, was written by Mr. Justice McReynolds, and is unanimous. The opinion says in part:

“No question is raised concerning the power of the State reasonably to regulate all schools, to inspect, supervise and examine them, their teachers and their pupils; to require that all children of proper age attend some school, that teachers shall be of good moral character and patriotic disposition, that certain studies plainly essential to good citizenship must be taught, and that nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare.

“The inevitable practical result of enforcing the act under consideration would be destruction of appellees’ primary schools, and perhaps all other private primary schools for normal children within the State of Oregon.

“Under the doctrine of *Meyer versus Nebraska*, 262 U. S. 390 (German language case), we think it entirely plain that the act of 1922 unreasonably interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control. As often heretofore pointed out, rights guaranteed by the Constitution may not be abridged by legislation which has no reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the State.

“The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all Governments in this Union repose, excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.”

The First Amendment of the Constitution, the *Washington Star* reminds us, provides that “Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of a religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press”; and the *Washington* paper goes on to explain the relation of this Amendment to the present decision:

“It does not specifically restrict the right of the State to pass such acts as may be construed as establishing a religion or prohibiting its free exercise, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. It has, however, been contended and maintained that in these respects a State can not do what the United States can not do. In the present decision on the Oregon law the Supreme Court sets aside a State statute because it is a deprivation of property without due process of law and because it is an interference with the free choice of parents and guardians in the education of their children by reputable teachers.”

For comment friendly to this deceased law *The Digest* telegraphed to Governor Pierce, to *The Western American*, a Klan paper published in Portland, and to several other Klan organs in other States. Our only replies to these telegrams up to the time of going to press were a wire from the headquarters of the Oregon Klan informing us that *The Western American* had ceased publication on April 1, and the following telegram from the Governor:

“The friends of the Oregon School Law are American citizens, firm believers in the underlying principles of the American Government. We bow to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is too early yet to predict what further effort will be made to preserve the American public school system which many of us regard as the bulwark of American ideals.”

In further explanation of the point of view reflected in the Oregon School Law, we quote the New York *Herald Tribune*:

“Summarized, Oregon’s argument in the courts was that the national Government was founded upon the theory that Church and State should be maintained separate, a principle to be closely guarded in the education of its youth; that the right of a State to control a minor when public welfare required had been thoroughly established in the courts and included control over their education, that private and parochial schools are not superior to public schools, therefore the new law would not deprive them of any rights or privileges or subject them to any disadvantages; that the opposition came from those who wanted children given sectarian religious instruction.”

The press comment that has reached this office seems to be all in approval of the Supreme Court’s decision. “It is a wise decision,” remarks the Portland *Oregonian*, which continues:

“The theories of liberty proclaimed in the Constitution are there to protect, primarily, the minorities. The majority can readily take care of itself. Without doubt a majority of the people of Oregon believe now that the public school is best for their children, best for all children. But it is not their right to impose their opinions upon those parents who do not believe it so.

“As said, this decision is by the final legal authority in the land. It is a wise decision. It is one that should have been foreseen by the framers of the bill as it was foreseen by many, including this newspaper, who opposed the law. There is nothing we know of that those who adhere to its principles can now do about it. No like law can be enforced without amendment of the national Constitution, a process difficult to accomplish at any time and one in this instance that, if attempted, would promote destructive bitterness and, if successful, encroach upon guaranties which in the larger sense are of those rights which the founders of our independence declared to be unalienable.”

The Supreme Court “has erected a fresh and strong bulwark for parental and personal rights” and at the same time has “dealt a staggering blow at the current inclination of hysterical States to trespass upon and outrage the rights of individual Americans,” declares the Syracuse *Herald*. Says the Newark *News*, which heartily applauds the court’s position:

“The decision stakes out the limit to which State authorities may go in education. They may prescribe a minimum standard of education to which private schools must conform, together with moral and intellectual standards for teachers, but may not interfere with training supplemental to this which does not conflict with morality or teach doctrines subversive of Government.”

The decision “will be accepted as sound Americanism,” thinks the Manchester *Union*. It is “a victory for liberty and tolerance,” declares the Boston *Transcript*; and in the Brooklyn *Eagle* we read:

“Whatever the influences behind it, the Oregon school law was a startling adventure in bigotry and intolerance. It denied rights to parents and privileges to children. Certainly at a time when so many Protestant thinkers are coming to agree with Roman Catholic thinkers that religion in schools is a vital matter in the making of good citizens, any plan to deny to the parent the right of choosing schools where religious teaching is practicable is basically unjust, basically wrong.”

But while “the victory in the Supreme Court over the Oregon School Law is excellent,” remarks the *New York World*, “there will follow the Tennessee case.” Between the Oregon and Tennessee cases there are important legal distinctions, but both cases involved questions of minority rights and freedom of thought. As an Oregon paper, the *Portland Journal*, asks:

“If a State may not lawfully ordain that children of certain ages must attend public schools and not other, how can it ordain what branches of study they may not pursue?”

EDITORIAL COMMENT

A Slight Misunderstanding.—We published last quarter a paper relating to the Jesuit missionaries in the Illinois Country and indulged in some criticisms of numerous statements made by the author. Incidentally we mentioned that the paper was read before the Illinois Historical Society without intending to infer in any way that that worthy organization was responsible for the contents of the paper. It is due the Illinois Historical Society to state that we did not have the permission of that body to publish the paper, although the editor understood that such permission had been given. Our humble apologies are presented that organization, which we are pleased to be able to state has always been eminently fair, and indeed has been a model for historical organizations throughout its history, but especially under its present organization and management. This incident affords us an opportunity to acknowledge countless courtesies and favors granted by the Society to the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW and to the editor.

History in the Making.—We are certainly living in historic times. Open the geography and note the rapid changes in the map of the world. Think of business or trade relations and observe the most stupendous dealings ever known. Consider national and international relations and note the heretofore unparalleled tension. Take the question of prohibition: Several countries have adopted prohibition laws and the same have been roundly denounced but the prohibition movement goes merrily on. On the surface, at least crime seems to be rampant and never, it seems, was human life held so cheap. All the time, it is noticeable, religion is held in contempt and ridiculed to a greater degree than has been known since a large part of the world accepted Christianity. The bloodless conflict between "evolutionists" and "fundamentalists" has to all appearances paralyzed non-Catholic church organizations. The prospect would be appalling indeed were it not for one redeeming circumstance, namely, the steady growth in numbers and fervor of the Catholic Church. This strengthening is noticeable throughout the world, and the movement has attracted the leading minds of the time, lending force to the conviction that the Catholic Church not only offers the formula for salvation but that Catholic philosophy furnishes the solution for satisfactory private and public relations.

Saints in Our Day.—The month of June, 1925, has been made memorable in the history of the Church by reason of the rites and ceremonies which placed in the Church's calendar several saints and the names of several others declared blessed. That sainthood comes close to our day as well as existing in the past is proven by the canonization of Sister Theresa, the Carmelite nun known as the "Little Flower." The world over this holy young woman is venerated and non-Catholics vie with members of the Church in their devotion to her. Another of the names added to the Church Calendar is Peter Canisius, that of the second apostle of Germany and the leader of the defense against the "Reformation." We Americans are greatly interested in the beatification of eight workers in the American missions, declared blessed on June 21, 1925.

These holy men were: Fathers Isaac Jogues, John de Brebeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Noel Chabanel, Anthony Daniel, Charles Garnier and two laymen, Rene Goupel and John Lalande, all Jesuits. Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., has published a most timely account of the lives and labors of these holy men under the title, "The Jesuit Martyrs of North America." These life stories are excelled in interest only by the stories of the martyr deaths of the Holy victims. In his preface Father Wynne truthfully says: "Neither myth nor legend is needed by our country for the heroic story with which every people loves to immortalize its origins. Our earliest history is one of heroes who achieved their wonders not by physical powers merely, but by moral grandeur. Their most wonderful achievement is the incomparable devotion with which they, all men of exquisite culture and refinement, labored among human beings who had fallen from man's high estate into the depths of barbarism and depravity. In common with all heroes they were animated by the noblest passions; but they excelled in love, the greatest of all. They excelled also in the objects of their love, entirely devoid as it was of selfishness, and centered purely on the highest things, on God and on human souls. They are the heroes of the invisible, the spiritual, the supernatural; and these by word and work, they bring visibly before our weaker vision." Part of a paragraph from Chapter II of Father Wynne's most interesting book makes clear the object of the missionaries: "The sole object of these intrepid missionaries was the conversion of the savages who occupied these countries, principally the Hurons, Petuns, Neuters, Algonquins and Iroquois. Never did mortal men work so persistently, nor with such optimism amid every form of privation, obstacle, hardship, danger and reason for discouragement. Only for testimony which inspires conviction, what they endured would be incredible. Like giants they stand out even among their own heroic associates. Their savage tormentors ate the hearts and drank the blood of Lalemant and Brebeuf, hoping to partake of their courage and endurance." Every page of the "Jesuit Martyrs of North America" is alive with interest and the book is an extremely valuable addition to historical lore and the literature of the Church. It is published by the Universal Knowledge Foundation, 119 East 57th Street, New York, and sells for \$1.50, postpaid. All our readers should own and read this book, the record of the first men in North America to be enrolled in the Calendar of the Blessed.

ADVANCE IMPRESSION OF THE TENNESSEE EVOLUTION CASE

Luther Burbank who ridicules the doctrine of original sin has taken issue with Bryan on evolution and says that the nation which denies evolution is doomed. Bryan, on the contrary, maintains that materialistic evolution, as taught in our state schools, is a menace to the national life.

He says that it is opposed to the teaching of the Bible, the inspired word of God. It is; and it is also contrary to natural reason. Hence, Catholics must side with Bryan rather than Burbank.

Bryan, errs, if, as seems to be the case, he thinks the words of Genesis, 2-7, "And the Lord God formed man of the slime of the earth: and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul," can in no way be reconciled with the theory of evolution as applied to the body of Adam, our first parent. If God formed the body of Adam out of the earth mediately rather than immediately, this is, by an evolutionary process, the text would still be true and the inspiration of the Bible would not be called into question.

However, Bryan is right when he says that Genesis does not permit us to hold that man, as a unit, consisting of a spiritual soul as well as a body, "has descended from a lower order of animal." Adam's soul was formed immediately by the creative act of God. Since it was made out of nothing, that is, with no pre-existing matter, the evolution of matter is plainly excluded not only by Holy Writ, but by natural reason.

Materialistic evolution makes no distinction between the soul and body and is therefore false. Man is placed on the same plane as the brute animal.

This kind of evolution denies the existence of God, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, the freedom of the will, and therefore, man's responsibility for his actions. It is subversive of morality and undermines the foundation of the state.

The state of Tennessee is not meddling with questions purely religious or theological in passing an anti-evolution law. The legislature is simply asserting the right to curb academic license, wearing the garb of freedom, so as to protect the faith and morals of its children.

Several years ago the writer, in sounding a warning against two university professors in the state of Wisconsin who were teaching

irreligion and the criminal limitation of offspring, told the tax payers of Wisconsin that they had the right and the duty of keeping freedom within due bonds and of making it respect the unchangeable moral law—aye, if necessary, of driving from the halls of the state university those educators whose salaries they were paying and who were corrupting the faith and morals of their sons and daughters.

Acting on this principle, the writer dismissed a medical professor in Marquette University who taught therapeutic abortion. Exposing the sophistry that sought to make the question one of “dogma” or religion or theology, thereby stirring up religious prejudice, the writer showed that the question at issue was an ethical one, that the commandment, “Thou shalt not kill,” was involved, and that academic freedom degenerates into academic license if it fails to respect the ten commandments.

If a state legislature can forbid the teaching of murder, blasphemy, atheism, or perjury in state schools, it can and should interdict the teaching of materialism and irreligion in the guise of materialistic evolution. Without detriment to the prior rights of individuals and families, the state can, in self-defense, take measures to attain its own end and, in consequence, has the right to outlaw those teachings that would make the attainment of its God-given end impossible.

Although Bryan has made mistakes in regard to prohibition and pacifism and kindred questions, he is, nevertheless, in the main, right on this question and should have the approval and support of all right minded citizens of our country. It is high time for those who send their sons and daughters to state schools to take a stand on academic freedom and bid it cease its immoral attacks on religion, natural and revealed, and bear in mind that the ten commandments, expressing God’s immutable law, are not to be treated as debatable questions concerning which professors may give their arguments pro and con and tell the students to decide as they would on the relative merits of General Grant and General Robert E. Lee.

HERBERT C. NOONAN, S. J.

Chicago.

NEW GUARDIAN ANGEL ORPHANAGE FOR ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO

Ground for the new Guardian Angel Orphans' home on Plainfield road was broken April 27, 1925 amid elaborate ceremonies before a gathering of nearly 500 persons.

The first shovel of dirt for the new orphanage, which will be located at Five Corners on the Plainfield road, was turned by the Rev. Francis E. Scanlan, pastor of St. Raymond's Catholic church, who gave a brief address explaining the plans, which provide for a model orphanage.

PARADE IS HELD

An automobile parade from the present Guardian Angel home, on Center street, was staged, the De La Salle high school band, leading the parade, which was accompanied by an escort of honor consisting of motorcycle policemen.

Children in the orphanage were originally scheduled to march to the site of the new home, but owing to the unseasonable weather that portion of the program was eliminated.

Catholic clergy of Will and Grundy counties attended the ground breaking ceremony, as did representatives from The Sisters of St. Francis, sponsors of the new building. Many members of Catholic churches in Joliet also attended, swelling the gathering to approximately 500 persons.

EXPLAINS BUILDING PLANS

The Rev. Fr. Scanlan, in his address dwelt on the style or architecture of the new building, and explained that it will be strictly fireproof throughout, practically arranged and modern in every respect.

Construction of the building, which will be colonial in style, four stories throughout, is expected to consume 10 or 12 months, present plans calling for formal dedication in the summer of 1926. The Sisters of St. Francis, sponsors of the new building, have had plans prepared by the E. Brielmaier & Sons company, Chicago and Milwaukee architects, with excavation contracts let to Thomas Dillon of Joliet.

MAIN BUILDING LARGE

Main building dimensions will be 58x198 feet, with two end wings, each 31x42 feet, extending forward.

The plans call for a strictly fireproof building throughout practically arranged and modern in every respect. There have been incorporated into the building many ideas which are new in the planning of orphanages and it is expected to make this a model institution of its kind, second to none of its size in the country. Special thought has been given to the safety of the children by allowing for spacious corridors extending full length of building, with inside fire enclosed stairways at ends. The building will contain an electric push button elevator. The frame work, or so-called skeleton, will be reinforced concrete and enclosed with brick and tile wall. The exterior will be faced with rough texture vitrified brick, trimmed with Bedford stone. The roof also will be fireproof.

The ground floor will contain to the front of main corridor extending lengthwise with the building separate play rooms for boys and girls, with locker rooms alongside, also music rooms, dressing, shower and bath rooms. To the rear of main corridor will be located separate girls' and boys' dining rooms. Sisters' dining room, general kitchen, pantries, etc., with storage and cellars in a basement provided underneath this portion of building.

The first floor provides for main entrance lobby and waiting room, with general and private office and portress room to one side, and reception room and guests' dining room opposite. One wing will be devoted to the sleeping and living quarters for the sisters, and the opposite wing to chaplain's suite and guests' dining and sleeping rooms. To the rear of main corridor are boys' and girls' dormitories with baths directly adjoining and connected. This floor also contains kindergarten, dining room and serving kitchen for small children. This places the little ones in a separate department by themselves an away from the older boys and girls.

FIRE ENCLOSED STAIRWAYS

The second floor to the front of main corridor contains class rooms, study halls with lockers adjoining, as well as visiting boys' and girls' sleeping rooms. To the rear of main corridor there will be the main fire enclosed stairways which extend the full height of the building, the boys' and girls' general toilets and wash rooms, also an infirmary and isolation department complete in every regard to give

aid and comfort to any of the children taken sick, also there is a good sized sewing room.

The third floor contains boys' and girls' dormitories with toilets adjoining, as well as rooms between dormitories for the use of the sister in charge and locker rooms. This floor will also contain a department for the infants, taking in a cradle room and infants' dormitory, utility room, linen room, and bath and room for the sister in charge. A temporary chapel will be located on this third floor to be used until such time as a permanent one can be built.

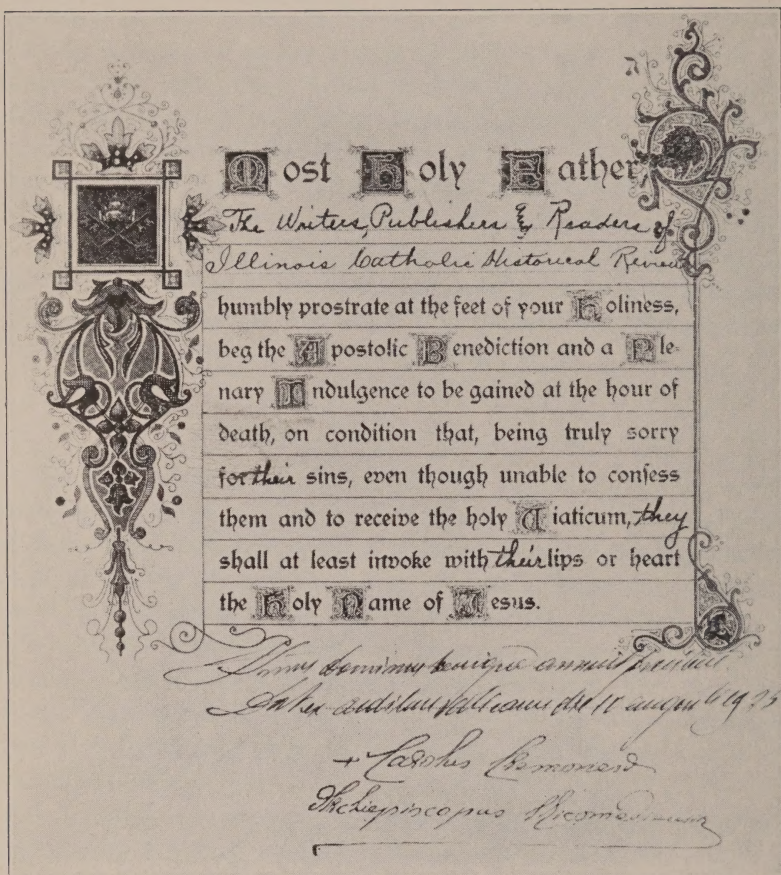
All floors of the building will be provided with porches for the use of the children and airing purposes. Provisions are made throughout for linen closets, broom and pail closets, utility corridors to conceal plumbing pipes but still leave them accessible, private and public telephones, fire alarm and program bells.

SPECIAL VENTILATING SYSTEM

The finish throughout will be of the best material, the corridor floors, stairs, baths, etc., to have terrazzo floor and base, as well as window stools, bath partitions of terrazzo with terrazzo wainscot back of all plumbing fixtures to protect the walls, floors in class rooms, study halls, sleeping rooms, etc., all hard wood, and wood trim and doors of oak. Provisions are also made for a first class ventilating system to insure ample fresh air in the building. The building at present is arranged to accommodate 150 children, but so planned to allow for additional wings to house an equal number, or a total capacity of 300.

In addition to this building there will be a separate boiler house and laundry building, containing besides these rooms work shop and helps' quarters. This building will be in an "L" shape, the main part being 34 feet by 62 feet, basement and two stories, with a wing 31 feet by 38 feet, the latter to be one story only and to contain heating plant. This boiler house will be connected to the main building by underground tunnel to allow for passing back and forth during the winter months, as well as to contain heating mains.

JOLIET EVENING HERALD.



POPE'S BLESSING AND PLENARY INDULGENCE

EXTRAORDINARY FAVOR GRANTED BY POPE PIUS XI,
 on the occasion of the visit of Joseph J. Thompson, the editor, to the
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